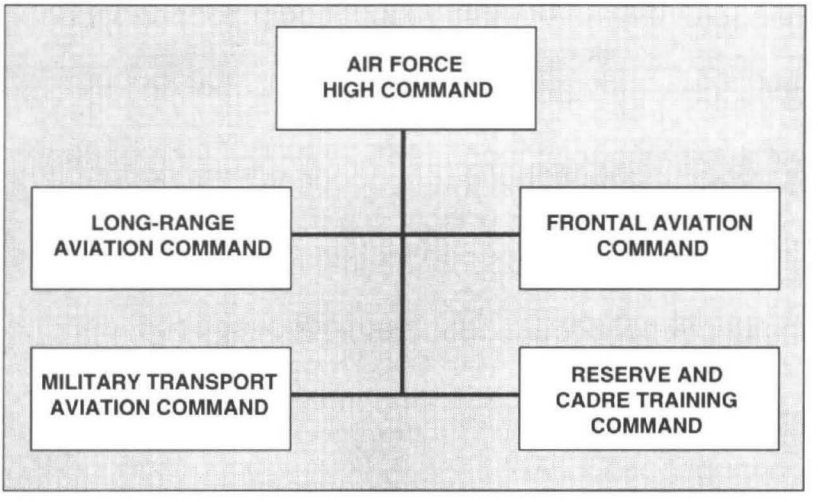


Figure 17. Organization of the Air Forces, 1996

Two training centers of the Reserve and Cadre Training Command are located in the North Caucasus district. They base five training regiments equipped with 500 operational and training aircraft of various types. Two more fighter training regiments deploying a combination of ninety-four combat aircraft are stationed in the Volga Military District. The Moscow Military District is supported by an air army that consists of a bomber division of ninety Su–24 aircraft of the Long-Range Aviation Command, a fighter division of 145 Su–27 and MiG–29 aircraft, a ground-attack regiment of forty Su–25 fighters, and a reconnaissance regiment of fifty-five Su–24 and MiG–25 aircraft. The Moscow Military District also hosts two training regiments of the Reserve and Cadre Training Command.

The Northern Military District is supported by an air army consisting of a bomber division under the Long-Range Aviation Command and a fighter division and a reconnaissance regiment under the Frontal Aviation Command. The bomber division is equipped with eighty Su–24 bombers, the fighter division with ninety-five Su–27 and MiG–29 aircraft.

In addition to the allocations made by district, forty-six aircraft officially belong to the Long-Range Aviation Command but are under the control of Ukraine. Their operational readiness is suspect. A composite regiment of transport aircraft and

helicopters from the Military Transport Aviation Command is stationed at Kaliningrad.

The Military Transport Aviation Command is organized into three divisions, each comprising three regiments of thirty aircraft. In addition, there are a few independent aviation transport regiments, including one stationed in Kaliningrad. Overall, the independent training regiments deploy about 350 aircraft of the Il–76 Kandid, An–12, An–22, and An–124 types.

Strategic aviation is an intercontinental nuclear strike force that includes about 15,000 personnel. In concert with the strategic rocket forces, it provides the Russian Federation's strategic nuclear threat. Organizationally, strategic aviation falls under the Long-Range Aviation Command of the air forces, but it is under the operational control of the Ministry of Defense. Bases are located in the Far Eastern, Moscow, and Northern military districts. According to the reckoning of START I, strategic aviation aircraft can deliver a total of 1,506 nuclear warheads, including bombs, cruise missiles, and air-to-surface missiles. The Far Eastern force deploys 107 Tu–95 Bear bombers of the G and H models and twenty Tu–160 Blackjack bombers.

The Bear is a long-range subsonic turboprop bomber modeled after the United States B–29 of World War II vintage. Although still serviceable, it is an obsolete combat aircraft by modern military standards. Its operational range would carry it over the United States, however. The Blackjack is a modern, high-performance aircraft that has a shorter range than the Bear. The Blackjack can reach long-range targets in the United States with the aid of midair refueling. For this purpose, the strategic bomber force has forty tanker aircraft in its inventory.

The Northern and Moscow military districts each house a heavy bomber regiment of twenty modern Tu–22M high-performance jet bombers. The Tu–22M has less range than the older Tu–95 models, but it is better suited to modern air warfare. According to experts, the Bears are located in Asia because they match China's obsolete air defenses, and the more modern aircraft are in Europe to be matched against the more formidable West European defenses.

Air Defense Forces

The air defense forces, charged with defense against enemy air attack, have a total of about 200,000 troops, of whom 60,000 are conscripts. The air defense forces include missile, air force,

and radio-technical units and an air defense army. There also are two independent air defense corps (see fig. 18). The missile forces are equipped with approximately 2,500 launchers deployed in about 250 different sites around the country. Air defense forces have particular responsibility for defending administrative and industrial centers; for instance, they surround Moscow with about 100 missile launchers. The air force troop contingent consists of about 850 combat aircraft, including 100 MiG–23, 425 MiG–31, and 325 Su–27 aircraft.

The air defense forces also operate twenty Il–76 aircraft configured for airborne early warning and command and control. The air force troops operate their own training program from one training center that includes four regiments equipped with more than 380 MiG–23 and L–39 aircraft.

The missile troops are equipped with about 150 SA–2 Guideline, 100 SA–3 Goa, 500 SA–5 Gammon, and 1,750 SA–10 Grumble missile launchers. A program to replace all of the older systems with the SA–10, well under way by 1996, has been considered by experts to be one of the most successful reequipment programs of the post-Soviet armed forces. Seven of the military districts have at least one aviation air defense regiment each; two districts, Moscow and the Far Eastern, have specially designated air defense districts.

The borders of the Moscow Air Defense District are the same as those of the Moscow Military District. The Far Eastern Air Defense District combines the territory of the Far Eastern Military District and the Transbaikal Military District. Presumably, the boundaries of the other military districts are the same for air defense as for other defense designations.

Strategic Rocket Forces

In the Soviet era, the strategic rocket forces (SRF) were established as the elite service of the nation's military because they have the vital mission of operating long- and medium-range missiles with nuclear warheads. They remained so in the mid-1990s. In 1996 the SRF had about 100,000 troops, of which about half were conscripts; the SRF has the highest proportion of well-educated officers among the armed services. The SRF also is the only service with an active force modernization program.

Russia's report for the CFE Treaty indicated the existence of ten SRF missile bases within the European scope of the treaty, including sites at Plesetsk (north of Moscow), Kapustin Yar

(near Volgograd), Vladimir (east of Moscow), Vypolzovo (northwest of Moscow), Yoshkar Ola (in the Republic of Mari El), Kozel'sk (southwest of Moscow), Tatishchevo (north of Volgograd), Teykovo (northeast of Moscow), and Surovatikha (south of Nizhniy Novgorod). Indicating the priority given air defense of the European sector, Russia listed only four additional missile bases outside the CFE Treaty reporting area, at Nizhniy Tagil, Irkutsk, Novosibirsk, and Kansk. There is a training regiment at the missile test facility near Plesetsk and another at the Kapustin Yar test facility. Russia has continued the reduction in strategic missile inventory required under START I, although at a pace slower than the United States would like. By mid-1996 all nuclear warheads on former Soviet SRF missiles in Kazakstan and Ukraine had been returned to Russia or destroyed, and all missiles were scheduled to leave Belarus by the end of 1996 (see Nuclear Arms Issues, this ch.).

The Russian SRF missile inventory not only is shrinking in response to treaty requirements but also is changing in character. The new SS–25 Topol is the only system suited to Russian strategic requirements and acceptable under the requirements of START I, so rocket production efforts will concentrate on this model for the foreseeable future.

The Topol is fielded in SRF regiments comprising three battalions totaling nine launch vehicles. In 1996 forty such regiments were operational. Several older operational ICBM systems also remained in the field. These included an SS–17 regiment of ten silos, six SS–18 silo fields totaling 222 missiles with multiple warheads, four SS–19 silo fields totaling 250 missiles with multiple warheads, and ninety-two SS–24 missiles of which thirty-six are mounted on trains. All except the SS–24 were being phased out in favor of the SS–25 Topol. Two remaining SS–25 regiments without warheads were scheduled for redeployment from Belarus to the Perm' region in 1996.

Airborne Troops

The airborne troops comprise five airborne divisions and eight air assault brigades. They were designated as a separate service in 1991, at which time the air assault brigades were reassigned from ground forces units and military districts to Airborne Troop Headquarters, with direct responsibility to the Ministry of Defense. The justification for this reorganization was that airborne troops could not respond as quickly to an emergency under ground forces command as they could as a

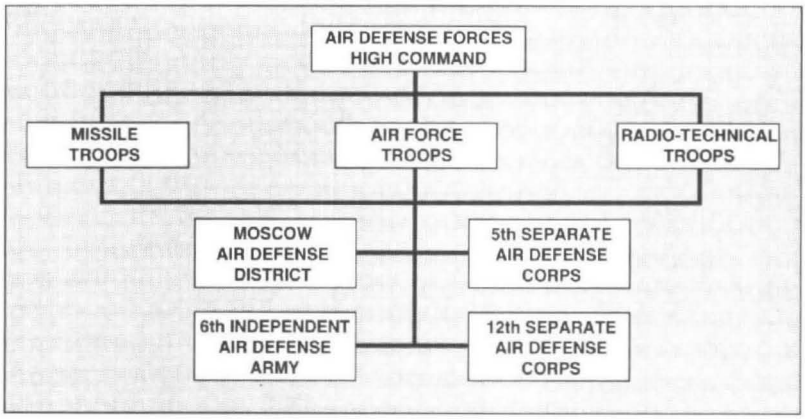


Figure 18. Organization of the Air Defense Forces, 1996

separate command. Experts believe that the decision to reorganize came mainly in response to internal politics rather than military necessity; at that time, the Russian national leadership did not want airborne troops under the control of the General Staff or the ground forces. In early 1996, four of the eight independent airborne brigades and two of the five airborne divisions were placed under the command of their respective district commanders, and the remaining three divisions became part of the strategic reserve. The command adjustments constituted a return to the pre-1991 arrangement.

The reason given for the transfer of authority was that the military districts already controlled the helicopter, fixed-wing, and other resources needed to support the air assault brigades, and that historically air assault brigades were created to operate in an operational-tactical role attached to a high-level headquarters. They were never intended to be a strategic asset. In the case of the Novorossiysk Division engaged in Chechnya, a chain of command running back to Moscow allegedly proved unworkable. However, the reassignment of the airborne units brought interservice charges that the move was an attempt to rein in a service branch perceived as having a dangerous combination of independence and mobility. The chief of the General Staff, General Mikhail Kolesnikov, characterized the decision as purely operational.

The mission of the airborne forces is to make possible a quick response to national emergencies. The airborne troops

are considered an elite force because they are individually selected from volunteers based on physical fitness, intelligence, and loyalty. By traditional military standards, the airborne troops are not a powerful force. Each division is assigned about 6,000 lightly armed troops with lightly armored vehicles. Their value is that they have special training and have operational and strategic mobility provided by long-range aircraft. Their parachute assault capability means that they can be deployed anywhere within airlift range in a matter of hours without the need for an air base in friendly hands. However, resupply and support by heavy ground troop formations are necessary in a matter of days because the airborne troops lack the self-sustaining combat and logistical power of regular ground forces.

All of the airborne divisions are based in European Russia. One division is based in the Northern Military District, two in the Moscow Military District, and one each in the Volga and North Caucasus districts. The division in the North Caucasus Military District has taken part in the Chechnya conflict.

The eight airborne assault brigades are smaller than divisions, and they lack the armor and artillery assets that give conventional divisions ground mobility and firepower. Once the airborne brigades are on the ground, they can move no faster than walking speed. Their role is primarily focused on helicopter operations, but they also are trained for parachute assault from fixed-wing aircraft.

Performance

In the 1990s, the direction of change in the Russian armed forces is toward a smaller and more defense-oriented force almost entirely deployed within the borders of Russia. As of mid-1996, that change was occurring faster than military or civilian leaders could manage. The result was a large armed force with too many officers and not enough enlisted personnel, one unable to provide adequate training, and, according to Russian and Western experts, deficient in purpose and direction. The military leadership remained in the hands of holdovers from the Soviet regime who had failed to adjust to new political and military realities. The force's one strength lay in the sheer numbers of its personnel and the size of its equipment inventory.

The performance of Russia's armed forces in the Chechnya conflict provided a glimpse of the capabilities of Russian

ground and air forces. The image is not an impressive one, particularly if evidence on training and force morale is considered.

Troop Support Elements

The social implications of Russia's troop support effort in the mid-1990s are staggering. In the United States, a lack of military housing means that military families have to find homes or apartments in the civilian community. Because that option does not exist in Russia, a military family without military housing is literally homeless. Families of field-grade officers subsist in tents or packing crates salvaged from troop redeployments from Central Europe. In other cases, homeless military families have been sheltered for years at a time in gymnasiums or warehouses set up like emergency shelters. At the end of 1994, an estimated 280,000 military personnel and family members were homeless. Many units live in permanent field conditions under canvas. In 1995 only 2,500 of 5,000 rated pilots in flight-status jobs had apartments. The elite strategic rocket forces (SRF) have not fared much better than the other branches of the armed forces. In 1995 the SRF commander in chief, General Igor' Sergeyev, stated that only fourteen of forty-two apartment blocks needed in 1994 to house his troops and their families had been constructed, leaving 11,000 of his troops unhoused; one year later, 4,000 of his troops still were without housing. In 1996 the overall housing situation worsened.

The impact on military preparedness is immense. The daily lives of officers and enlisted personnel are consumed with providing the means of survival for themselves and their families. This marginal existence provides fertile ground for illegal activities such as trading military property for means of sustenance, or engaging in illicit acts to obtain money earned, but not received, in pay (see Crime in the Military, this ch.). There is little energy, time, funds, matériel, or even motivation to conduct individual or small-unit training.

Soldiers often wait two to four months to be paid, and often only partial pay is issued. According to a complex financial system, Russian commercial banks have responsibility for issuing funds from the Ministry of Defense's budget account to individuals, but the system has proved extremely cumbersome, and substantial amounts of money have simply disappeared or have been long delayed while being processed. The pay level also is unsatisfactory. In early 1996, a Russian pilot holding the rank

MiG–29K Fulcrum naval variant armed with missiles, on display at 1992 Moscow Air Show

of major was paid approximately 1.5 million rubles per month, or about US$300. By comparison, a NATO pilot of equivalent rank earned US$6,000 per month.

Force readiness also depends on equipment maintenance and resupply. In 1995 aviation units received only 39 percent of the required fuel, reducing annual flight time by a factor of 3.5. In 1994 the Ministry of Defense purchased only thirty of the 300 aircraft listed as being required, and only one aircraft was purchased in 1995. General Petr Deynekin, air forces commander in chief, has estimated that, at that rate of acquisition and maintenance, the air forces would have no flyable aircraft by 2005.

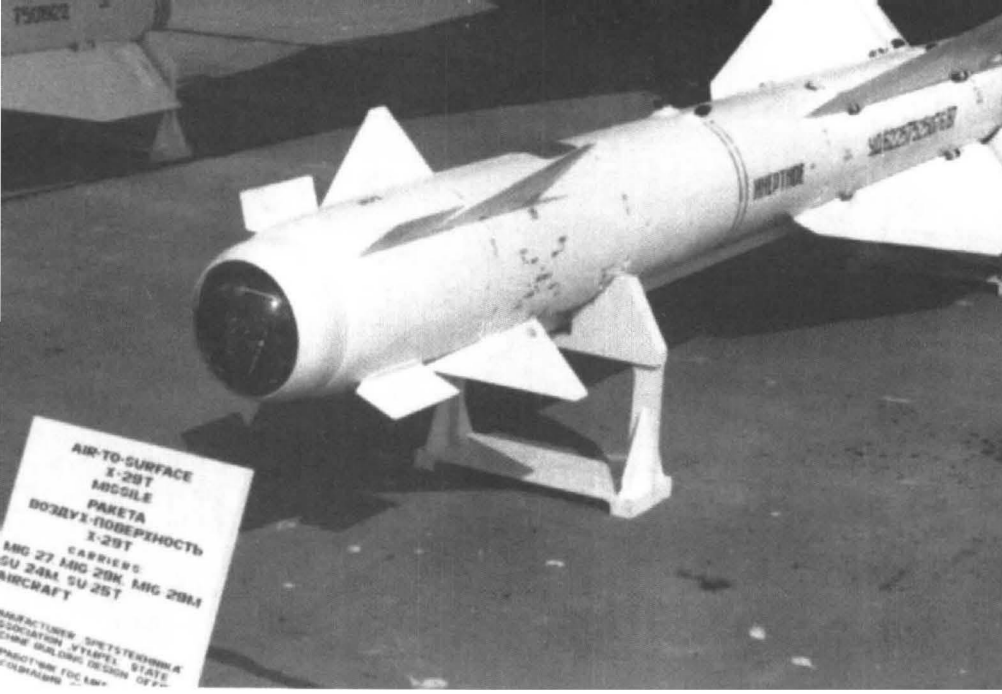
The naval forces are in approximately the same state of readiness as the air forces. Only one ship, the aircraft carrier *Admiral Kuznetsov,* had as much as five months of time at sea in

1994. Other naval sea time training was described as "infrequent." In 1995 nearly 95 percent of the ready naval vessels remained at dockside because of shortages of fuel, ammunition, and crews, and a backlog of repairs. Fuel shortages have caused the Pacific Fleet to cancel visits by single ships to Asian ports, and electricity was cut off to a nuclear submarine base in the Kola Peninsula, nearly causing a serious nuclear accident, because the base could not pay its bills. The Black Sea Fleet was embarrassed when a cruiser in the Mediterranean in 1996 ran out of water and had to request emergency resupply from the United States Navy. The once-proud aircraft carrier *Admiral Gorshkov,* the last of the Kiev class in service, was in drydock in 1996 for repair after a serious fire, and there were proposals to sell the ship for scrap or to the Indian navy.

Naval logistics had reached a crisis state by the mid-1990s. In 1996 fuel allocations were reduced by 65 percent from 1995, and rations were cut by 60 percent. Similar cuts were made in funds for maintenance, parts, tools, and batteries. The result was that fleet readiness was reduced by an estimated 30 percent for coastal forces and 50 percent for the blue-water navy.

Russia's four Kirov-class nuclear cruisers have fallen into disuse because they require large crews and are expensive to operate. Of the ships in that category, the *Ushakov* had been at dockside in its home port, Murmansk, for nearly five years in 1996 because of a lack of spare parts. The *Petr Velikiy* began sea trials in 1996 after a delay of three years. The *Lazarev* was scheduled to be refueled in 1996, but scrapping also was considered. Conventionally powered ships also have experienced maintenance difficulties. The Slava-class *Marshal Ustinov* was in drydock in St. Petersburg for two years for refurbishing, but it was expected to be scrapped for lack of parts and funds.

The air defense forces also have found it difficult to maintain readiness. In February 1996, the commander in chief, General Viktor Prudnikov, admitted that inadequate funding and poor matériel and technical support had lowered his branch's standard of combat readiness. Russia's missile forces receive no systematic daily training, and there is no firing-range practice. Air defense pilots get little flight time, and no funds are available for maintenance or aircraft parts. An estimated 50 percent of Russia's border is unprotected by radar because equipment of the radio-technical forces is inoperable. As of 1996, the air defense forces had not had funds for new



AS–14 Kedge air-to-surface missile on display at 1992 Moscow Air Show

orders for two years, and no improvement was expected in the near future.

The readiness condition of the ground forces is comparable to that of the other branches. In 1994 General Vladimir Semenov, commander in chief of the ground forces, admitted that the ground forces lacked the capacity to perform their assigned tasks. The council reported that more than a third of the helicopters cannot fly and that even emergency supplies (war stocks) had been partially consumed. General Semenov has reported that ground forces units are drastically understaffed; motorized rifle regiments, the heart of ground combat power, are said to be understaffed by 60 percent. Semenov has concluded that Russian ground combat units lack adequate personnel to participate in military actions and that full staffing of units would take a prohibitively long time.

Crime in the Military

By the mid-1990s, both organized and random crime had penetrated Russia's military, as they had penetrated many other parts of society. As the military reorganizes, personnel are faced with strong temptations to engage in criminal activity,

particularly when valuable state property is available for sale and when the professional prospects and social prestige of military service are sinking. Military and security personnel also offer criminal organizations a useful set of skills.

Petty criminal activity and systematic abuses by the officer corps have long been acknowledged aspects of the Soviet military system. As early as the late 1980s, authorities noticed escalating rates of weapons and munitions theft, narcotics trafficking, and diversion of various types of military resources. But the fragmentation of military authority and organization that began with the dissolution of the Soviet Union multiplied the opportunities for such activities. Drug use afflicted the military on a large scale during the nine-year occupation of Afghanistan, and the general increase in drug use in civilian society brought more users into the armed forces in the 1980s and 1990s. Episodes of random violence also increased. In 1989 fifty-nine officers were killed in attacks unrelated to military action. As morale dropped, cases of severe hazing of new recruits (*dedovshchina*—a tradition that began under Peter the Great) increased until, in 1994, an estimated 2,500 soldiers died and another 480 committed suicide as a direct result of hazing.

The illegal sale of weapons of all sizes became pervasive in the 1990s. Already in the late 1980s, Soviet troops in Europe were selling large numbers of individual weapons; as withdrawal from Europe progressed in the early 1990s, the sale of heavy equipment, including armored vehicles and jet fighters, also was reported. The largest force group in the region, the Western Group of Forces stationed in Germany, was the most active in this area, according to a series of investigations in the early and mid-1990s. Underground sales were reported inside Russia as well, with large numbers of weapons moving to civilian criminal organizations.

In late 1993, President Yeltsin formed the State Corporation for Export and Import of Armaments (Rosvooruzheniye) to consolidate and control arms sales under a single agency, but after that time the state still realized only a small part of the huge hard-currency profits from arms sales, while a number of top Rosvooruzheniye officials, with ties to a complex web of financial enterprises in Russia and abroad, flourished as sales continued to go undocumented. The agency acquired the nickname "Ros-vor," meaning "Russian thief," as the controversial activities of its officers were publicized and public confi-

dence dropped. Shortly after creating Rosvooruzheniye, the government approved direct arms sales activities by weapons manufacturers, further complicating the effort to monitor sales. Another state agency, the State Armament and Military Equipment Sales Company (Voyentekh), was established in 1992 to sell used equipment and arms overseas, with the proceeds to finance housing for troops. According to frequent allegations, that program also is riddled with corruption, most of its profits have not reached the housing fund, and much equipment has gone to the criminal world. Among the beneficiaries of such uncontrolled movement have been the Chechen guerrillas, who apparently were able to buy Russian arms even after the beginning of hostilities in late 1994.

Training

According to Russian and Western reports, inadequate funding and bad organization have caused all of the armed forces to suffer from extremely poor training. Although numerous top military leaders criticized this situation, little progress has been made in the mid-1990s.

Military Schools

In 1996 the Ministry of Defense administered a multilevel system of military training institutions, none of which had full enrollment in the mid-1990s. The system included eight military academies and one military university, offering university-level training and education in military and related fields. There were specialized academies for artillery, chemical defense, air defense, air engineering, space engineering, and medicine. The Military University in Moscow specialized in jurisprudence and journalism. In addition, there were about seventy institutions of higher education (*vysshiye uchebnyye zavedeniya*—VUZy; sing., VUZ) for military studies, most of which fell under one of the main force groups and were further specialized according to subject (for example, the Kazan' Higher Artillery Command-Engineer School and the Ufa Higher Military Aviation School for Pilots).

Field Training

Nominally, the Russian armed forces operate on the same six-month training cycle that was observed by the Soviet armed forces. Each cycle begins with induction of draftees and basic individual training, proceeds to unit training at the levels of

squad through division, and terminates with an army-level exercise. In 1994 General Semenov reported that the ground forces had not conducted any divisional exercises for the previous two years. As early as 1989, a reduction in Russia's military training activity became obvious in CSCE reports of major training exercises. This means that by 1996 the armed forces had passed through more than ten cycles without conducting any serious training.

Considering the Russian military five-year personnel assignment cycle, the training hiatus means that there was one, and part of another, military generation in each rank with a serious training deficiency, or no training at all in their nominal assignments. There were platoon and company commanders with no field experience. Few battalion, regimental, and division commanders had practical experience in commanding troops in the field at their present or preceding level.

The air forces of the Russian Federation are the most technologically sensitive of the armed forces. Modern high-performance aircraft demand skilled crews to operate and maintain them. However, in 1995 General Deynekin reported receiving only 30 percent of required funding for fuel, equipment, and parts in 1995—a shortfall that cut pilot flight time in operational squadrons to thirty to forty hours per year, approximately three hours per month in the cockpit. By contrast, the United States standard for pilot proficiency is 180 to 260 hours per year.

Reform Plans

In 1996 Aleksey Arbatov, deputy chairman of the State Duma Defense Committee, stated that the armed forces must be reduced by at least 500,000 personnel, a force reduction of one-third, with a simultaneous increase in the annual military budget of about US$20 billion—more than twice its level at the time.

The official plan for armed forces reorganization was put forth in a presidential decree of August 1995. Reforms would occur in two stages, which were outlined only vaguely. The first stage, to last from 1996 to 2000, would include reorganization of the civilian economy to provide better overall budgetary support, stabilize the defense industry, and revamp the territorial divisions of the national defense system to match a new concept of strategic deployment. The second stage, 2001 to 2005,

would address the international role of the Russian armed forces, ending with the creation of the "army of the year 2005."

The first phase was defined by five goals. First, a "rational" level of strategic nuclear forces would remain in place on land, sea, and air to defend against a global nuclear or conventional war. The level of such forces would be influenced by whether other powers had developed ABM defenses. Second, further downsizing was possible, depending on the leadership's estimation of optimal size given world conditions. Third, organizational structure would be changed only after comprehensive research, with numerous ground forces units to be combined and maintained at cadre strength. Fourth, procurement would be centralized, spending priorities strictly observed, and expenditures carefully monitored. Fifth, the command and control system would be improved in all operational-strategic groupings, optimizing control to ensure maximum combat readiness. There would be a clear definition of the respective functions of the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff, and the main directorates. The newly created State Commission for Military Organization and Development and the General Staff were to direct the fifth phase.

After issuing the reform decree, President Yeltsin periodically criticized the military (most notably Minister of Defense Grachev) for what he described as a complete lack of progress toward the stated goals. According to Western experts, this was a justified criticism, given the disorder and internal friction that prevented the military establishment from reaching consensus on any policy.

Military service became particularly unpopular in Russia in the mid-1990s. Under conditions of intense political and social uncertainty, the traditional appeal to Russian patriotism no longer resonated among Russia's youth (see Social Stratification, ch. 5). The percentage of draft-age youth who entered the armed forces dropped from 32 percent in 1994 to 20 percent in 1995. The Law on Military Service stipulates twenty-one grounds for draft exemption, but in many cases eligible individuals simply refuse to report; in July 1996, a report in the daily *Pravda* referred to a "daily boycott of the draft." In the first half of 1995, about 3,000 conscripts deserted, and in all of 1995 between 50,000 and 70,000 inductees refused to report. According to a 1996 Russian report, such personnel deficiencies meant that only about ten of Russia's sixty-nine ground forces divisions were prepared for combat. The armed forces

responded to manpower shortages by extending the normal two-year period of active-duty service of those already in uniform; only about 19,000 of the approximately 230,000 troops scheduled for discharge in December 1994 were released on time.

The two most compelling reasons for the failure of conscription are the unfavorable living conditions and pay of soldiers (less than US$1 per month at 1995 exchange rates) and the well-publicized and extremely unpopular Chechnya operation. The Russian tradition of hazing in the ranks, which became more violent and was much more widely reported in the 1990s, also has contributed to society's antipathy toward military service (see Crime in the Military, this ch.). By 1996 the approval rating of the military as a social institution had slipped to as little as 20 percent, far below the approval ratings achieved in the Soviet era.

Although by 1996 Russia's armed forces were less than one-third the size they reached at their Cold War peak in the mid-1980s, there still was a need for large numbers of personnel who were appropriately matched to their assigned duties and who could be motivated to serve conscientiously. The issue of gradually replacing Russia's ineffectual conscription system with a volunteer force has brought heated discussion in the defense establishment. The semiannual draft, which has set about 200,000 as its regular quota, has been an abysmal failure in the post-Soviet era because of evasion and desertion. During evaluation of an initial, experimental contract plan, in May 1996 Yeltsin unexpectedly proposed the filling of all personnel slots in the armed forces with contract personnel by 2000. In 1996 some units already were more than half staffed by contract personnel, and an estimated 300,000 individuals, about 20 percent of the total nominal active force, were serving under contract. At that time, more than half of new contractees were women.

But the main obstacle to achieving Yeltsin's goal is funding. To attract competent contract volunteers, pay and benefits must be higher than those offered to conscripts. Already in early 1996, a reported 50,000 contract personnel had broken their contracts because of low pay and poor housing, and many commanders expressed dissatisfaction with the work of those who remained. In mid-1996 a final decision on the use of volunteers awaited discussion in the State Duma and a possible challenge in the Constitutional Court.

Prospects for the Military

In the mid-1990s, Russia's military establishment included a number of influential holdovers from the Soviet era, together with incomplete plans for reform. That inauspicious combination of elements was not reconciled because there was little agreement among military or civilian policy makers on the appropriate speed and direction of change, and because economic conditions offered no flexibility for experimentation.

To the extent that the Chechnya conflict of 1994–96 was a fair test of combat capability, Russia's armed forces were far from fighting form, even by their own evaluation. As they received pessimistic assessments of the current and future situation, Russian policy makers faced a complex of other adjustments. In 1996 the shapers of policy on international relations and national security could not agree on Russia's status in the post-Soviet world (see Foreign Policy Prospects, ch. 8). Utilization of the military's very limited financial resources would require a consensus on the areas of the world most vital to national security. For example, would a second Chechnya-type uprising within the Russian Federation merit the kind of effort expended on the first one? What sort of response should the seemingly inevitable expansion of NATO elicit? Should Russia seek a permanent military presence in other CIS nations, to bolster national security? In answering such questions, military policy makers confront a national psyche still damaged by the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union itself. They also are tempted to divert attention from fundamental problems by renewing campaigns against old enemies.

No redirection of national security priorities could have meaning without a strong commitment to reorganize the military establishment that was inherited from the Soviet era. Only a leaner force could recapture the Soviet-era reservoir of skill, pride, and dedication that was dissipated in the first half of the 1990s. Through 1996 the budgetary strategy was to finance selected high-technology R&D projects and MIC enterprises capable of satisfying foreign arms customers (together with internal security "armies" such as that of the Ministry of Internal Affairs), while literally starving conventional troops and neglecting maintenance budgets. With the formation of a new government in mid-1996, the voices of reform became louder, but consensus on the basic requirements had grown no closer.

* * *

The *Russian CFE Data Exchange,* supplied in concurrence with the terms of the CFE Treaty, provides current and accurate information on the organization, deployment, equipment, and staffing of Russia's armed forces in the European sector covered by the treaty. Translations of Russian military periodicals and press releases in the military affairs section of the Foreign Broadcast Information Service's *Daily Report: Central Eurasia* are an invaluable primary source of current material. The best recent monograph on the Russian armed forces is Richard F. Staar's *The New Military in Russia,* which evaluates recent policy shifts and prospective changes of doctrine. *Jane's Defence Weekly* and *Jane's Intelligence Review* provide articles on specific issues of military policy. The annual *The Military Balance* contains detailed listings of force strength, weaponry, and deployment, and the annual *World Defence Almanac* addresses the same information with background on treaties such as START I and START II. The journals *Military Technology* and *Defense News* articles on the Russian defense industry and arms trade. A study by Graham H. Turbiville, Jr., "Mafia in Uniform: The Criminalization of the Russian Armed Forces," is a detailed report on post-Soviet criminal activity in the military. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Chapter 10. Internal Security

Sadko, a Russian folk hero, sings at the shore of Lake Il'men' near Novgorod (design from lacquer box made in village of Kholuy).

RUSSIA'S INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS underwent fundamental changes beginning in 1992, after the Soviet Union dissolved and what had been the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) was reconstituted as the Russian Federation. These changes, initiated by the government of Russian Federation president Boris N. Yeltsin, were part of a more general transition experienced by Russia's political system. The state security apparatus was restructured in the period after 1991, when the functions of the Committee for State Security (Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti—KGB) were distributed among several agencies. In that period, the interactions among those agencies and the future course of internal security policy became key issues for the Russian government. As the debate proceeded and the Yeltsin government's hold on power became weaker in the mid-1990s, some aspects of the Soviet-era internal security system remained in place, and some earlier reforms were reversed. Because Yeltsin was perceived to use the security system to bolster presidential power, serious questions arose about Russia's acceptance of the rule of law.

In the same period, Russia suffered an escalating crime wave that threatened an already insecure society with a variety of physical and economic dangers. In the massive economic transformation of the 1990s, organized-crime organizations pervaded Russia's economic system and fostered corruption among state officials. White-collar crime, already common in the Soviet period, continued to flourish. The incidence of random crimes of violence and theft also continued to increase in the mid-1990s. Meanwhile, Russia's police were handicapped in their efforts to slow the crime rate by a lack of expertise, funding, and support from the judicial system. In response to public outrage at this situation, the Yeltsin government increased the powers of internal security agencies, endangering the protections theoretically enjoyed by private citizens in post-Soviet Russia.

Internal Security Before 1991

The KGB had been an integral feature of the Soviet state since it was established by Nikita S. Khrushchev (in office

1953–64) in 1954 to replace the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (Narodnyy komissariat vnutrennikh del—NKVD), which during its twenty-year existence had conducted the worst of the Stalinist purges. Between 1954 and 1991, the KGB acquired vast monetary and technical resources, a corps of active personnel numbering more than 500,000, and huge archival files containing political information of the highest sensitivity. The KGB often was characterized as a state within a state. The organization was a rigidly hierarchical structure whose chairman was appointed by the Politburo, the supreme executive body of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU—see Glossary). Key decisions were made by the KGB Collegium, a collective leadership including the agency's top leaders and selected republic and departmental chiefs. The various KGB directorates had responsibilities ranging from suppressing political dissent to guarding borders to conducting propaganda campaigns abroad. At the end of the Soviet period, the KGB had five chief directorates, three smaller directorates, and numerous administrative and technical support departments.

In contrast to the United States government, which assigns the functions of domestic counterintelligence and foreign intelligence to separate agencies, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), respectively, the Soviet system combined these functions in a single organization. This practice grew out of the ideology of Soviet governance, which made little distinction between external and domestic political threats, claiming that the latter were always foreign inspired. According to that rationale, the same investigative techniques were appropriate for both foreign espionage agents and Soviet citizens who came under official suspicion. For example, the KGB's Seventh Chief Directorate, whose task was to provide personnel and equipment for surveillance operations, was responsible for surveillance of both foreigners and Soviet citizens.

The KGB's branches in the fourteen non-Russian republics duplicated the structure and operations of the unionwide organization centered in Moscow; KGB offices existed in every subnational jurisdiction and city of the Soviet Union. The KGB's primary internal function was surveillance of the Soviet citizenry, using a vast intelligence apparatus to ensure loyalty to the regime and to suppress all expressions of political opposition. This apparatus served as the eyes and ears of the party

Uniformed members of KGB at the Kremlin, Moscow, 1985
Courtesy Charles Trew

leadership, supplying information on all aspects of Soviet society to the Politburo.

The First Chief Directorate was responsible for KGB operations abroad. It was divided into three subdirectorates, responsible respectively for deep-cover espionage agents, collection of scientific and technological intelligence, and infiltration of foreign security operations and surveillance of Soviet citizens abroad. Segmented into eleven geographical regions, the First Chief Directorate placed intelligence-gathering officers in legal positions in embassies and elsewhere abroad. Such activities increased markedly after détente with the West in 1972 permitted many more Soviet officials to take positions in Western and Third World countries. In the 1970s and 1980s, as many as 50 percent of such officials were estimated to be conducting espionage.

The KGB Security Troops, which numbered about 40,000 in 1990, provided the KGB with coercive potential. Although Soviet sources did not specify the functions of these special troops, Western analysts believed that one of their main tasks was to guard the top leaders in the Kremlin, as well as key government and party buildings and officials at the major subna-

tional levels. Such troops presumably were commanded by the Ninth Directorate of the KGB.

The Security Troops also included several units of signal personnel, who reportedly were responsible for installation, maintenance, and operation of secret communications facilities for leading party and government bodies, including the Ministry of Defense. Other special KGB troops performed counterterrorist and counterintelligence operations. Such troops were employed, together with the Internal Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del—MVD), to suppress public protests and disperse demonstrations. Special KGB troops also were trained for sabotage and diversionary missions abroad.

The Internal Troops were a component of the armed forces but were subordinate to the MVD. Numbering about 260,000 in 1990, the Internal Troops were mostly conscripts with a two-year service obligation. Candidates were accepted from both the active military and civilian society. Four schools trained the Internal Troops' officer corps.

The Internal Troops supported MVD missions by aiding the regular police in crowd control in large cities and by guarding strategically significant sites such as large industrial enterprises, railroad stations, and large stockpiles of food and matériel. A critical mission was the prevention of internal disorder that might endanger a regime's political stability. Likely working in concert with KGB Security Troops, the Internal Troops played a direct role in suppressing anti-Soviet demonstrations in the non-Russian republics and strikes by Russian and other workers. Most units of the Internal Troops were composed solely of infantry with no heavy armaments; only one operational division was present in Moscow in 1990. In this configuration, the Internal Troops also might have been assigned rear-echelon security missions in case of war; they performed this duty in World War II.

Regular police forces, called the militia, which were the direct responsibility of the MVD, also played an important role in preserving internal order and fighting corruption; regional and local jurisdictions had no police powers. The Procuracy was the chief investigatory and prosecutorial agency for nonpolitical crimes, with a hierarchical organization that provided procurators (state prosecutors) at all levels of government. Although the new Russian government made several changes in the laws and organization of criminal justice after 1991, the

overall system of internal security retained many of the characteristics of its Soviet predecessor.

Successor Agencies to the KGB

By early 1991, the powerful KGB organization was being dismantled. The development of the post-Soviet internal security apparatus took place in a highly volatile political environment, with President Yeltsin threatened by political opposition, economic crises, outbreaks of ethnic conflict, and sharply escalating crime. Under these circumstances, Yeltsin and his advisers had to rely on state security and internal police agencies for support in devising and implementing internal security strategies.

The KGB was dissolved officially in December 1991, a few weeks before the Soviet Union itself. Foreign observers saw the end of the KGB as a sign that democracy would prevail in the newly created Russian Federation. But President Yeltsin did not completely eliminate the security apparatus. Instead, he dispersed the functions of the former KGB among several different agencies, most of which performed tasks similar to those of the various KGB directorates.

In 1992 Yeltsin never made a clear statement of his plans for the security services, except for occasional claims that the new services would be very different from the KGB. Nevertheless, early in 1992 certain trends already could be discerned. Generally speaking, Yeltsin had three main aims for the internal security services. Above all, he wanted to use the services to support him in his battles with high-level political opponents. Second, he wanted the security apparatus to counter broader domestic threats—ethnic separatism, terrorism, labor unrest, drug trafficking, and organized crime. Third, he intended that the security apparatus carry out counterintelligence against foreign spies operating in Russia.

After the creation of fifteen new states from the republics of the former Soviet Union, the territorial branches of the former KGB were transferred to the control of the new governments of these states, each of which made reforms deemed appropriate to the political and national security needs of the regime in power. The Russian Federation, however, which as the RSFSR had housed KGB central operations in Moscow, inherited the bulk of the KGB's resources and personnel. As early as January 1992, five separate security agencies had emerged in Russia to take the place of the KGB. Four of them were concerned with

internal security; the fifth was the Foreign Intelligence Service, which replaced the KGB's First Chief Directorate.

Ministry of Security (MB)

Within Russia the largest KGB successor agency was the Ministry of Security (Ministerstvo bezopasnosti—MB), which numbered some 137,000 employees and was designated a counterintelligence agency. The Ministry of Security inherited the tasks of several KGB directorates and chief directorates: the Second Chief Directorate (counterintelligence against foreigners), the Third Chief Directorate (military counterintelligence), the Fourth Directorate (transportation security), the Fifth Chief Directorate (domestic political security), the Sixth Directorate (activities against economic crime and official corruption), and the Seventh Directorate (surveillance activities).

In July 1992, Yeltsin signed—and Russia's Supreme Soviet (parliament) ratified—a law concerning the governance of the Ministry of Security. The law gave Yeltsin sweeping authority over security operations and aroused concern among Russian democrats. They worried because the new law so closely resembled the one on the KGB that had been enacted by the Soviet government just fourteen months earlier. The law conferred essentially the same mission and powers on the Ministry of Security that the earlier law had granted to the KGB, in some cases almost verbatim. The main difference was that in the past the KGB had been controlled by the leadership of the CPSU, whereas the 1992 law gave Yeltsin, as president, control of the Ministry of Security. The Russian parliament was granted some theoretical oversight functions, but they never were exercised in practice.

Yeltsin's first minister of security, former MVD chief Viktor Barannikov, left most of the organization's former KGB officials in place. In the spring of 1993, when an uneasy truce between Yeltsin and the Russian parliament was broken and the Supreme Soviet voted to deprive Yeltsin of his extraordinary presidential powers, Yeltsin called upon Barannikov and the Ministry of Security for support as the president declared the imposition of "special rule" giving him veto power over parliamentary legislation until new elections were held. However, Barannikov declined to involve his ministry in the political confrontation between the executive and legislative branches, urging that a compromise be found. When the Ministry of Defense

Parade on last Soviet "May Day," on Dzerzhinskiy Square with KGB building in background, 1991
Courtesy Michael E. Samojeden

also failed to support his position, Yeltsin backed down from his confrontational stance.

The split between Yeltsin and Barannikov was exacerbated by Barannikov's response to the government corruption issue in 1992–93. Bribe taking and behind-the-scenes deals, which had been accepted practices for Soviet officials, were traditions that died hard, especially in the absence of laws and regulations prohibiting officials from abusing their positions. When privatization of state property began, the scale of corruption increased dramatically. The overlap between government-controlled economic enterprises and private entrepreneurial ventures created vast opportunities for illegal economic activity at the highest levels.

Beginning in 1992, the Ministry of Security became involved in the war against organized crime and official corruption. Before long, however, the campaign turned into an exchange of accusations of corruption among Russia's political leaders, with the Ministry of Security in the middle. Yeltsin wanted to use the corruption campaign as a political weapon in fighting his opponents, but his own entourage was soon hit with

charges of covering up crimes—a tactic of Yeltsin's enemies to which Barannikov lent at least passive support. Barannikov's failures to support Yeltsin led to the security minister's dismissal in mid-1993.

Barannikov's replacement, Nikolay Golushko, did not last long in his job. After Yeltsin's threat to dissolve the Russian parliament in September 1993, which ended in bloodshed on the streets of Moscow, the president realized that Golushko was also unwilling to use the forces of the Ministry of Security to back up the president. In this case, Yeltsin not only dismissed his minister of security but also disbanded the ministry and replaced it with a new agency, the Federal Counterintelligence Service (Federal'naya sluzhba kontrarazvedki—FSK).

Federal Counterintelligence Service (FSK)

The law creating the FSK, signed in January 1994, gave the president sole control of the agency, eliminating the theoretical monitoring role granted to the parliament and the judiciary in the 1992 law on the Ministry of Security. The original outline of the FSK's powers eliminated the criminal investigative powers of the Ministry of Security, retaining only powers of inquiry. But the final statute was ambiguous on this issue, assigning to the FSK the task of "carrying out technical-operational measures, [and] criminological and other expert assessments and investigations." The statute also stipulated that the FSK was to "develop and implement measures to combat smuggling and corruption." Such language apparently assigned a key role to the successor of the Ministry of Security in the intensifying struggle against economic crime and official corruption.

According to its enabling statute, the FSK had eighteen directorates, or departments, plus a secretariat and a public relations center. Because some of the Ministry of Security's functions were dispersed to other security agencies, the initial FSK staff numbered about 75,000, a substantial reduction from the 135,000 people who had been working for the Ministry of Security in 1992. The reduction process began to reverse itself within a few months, however, as the FSK regained the criminal investigation functions of the Ministry of Security. By July 1994, the FSK reported a staff of 100,000.

Golushko's replacement as minister of security was his former first deputy, Sergey Stepashin, who had served as head of the Parliamentary Commission on Defense and Security dur-

ing 1992–93. Stepashin's arrival coincided with the establishment of a new economic counterintelligence directorate in the FSK and development of new laws to improve the FSK's ability to fight corruption. Stepashin announced measures against underground markets and "shadow capital," phenomena of the transition period that had been defended as stimuli for the national economy. He also defended the FSK against critics who accused the agency of persecuting private entrepreneurs.

In addition to fighting crime and corruption, the FSK played a prominent role in dealing with ethnic problems. One worry for the agency was the possibility of terrorist acts by dissident non-Russian nationalities within the Russian Federation. Approximately 20 percent of Russia's population is non-Russian, including more than 100 nationalities concentrated in Russia's thirty-two ethnically designated territorial units. Tension over unresolved ethnic and economic issues had been mounting steadily since 1990, as non-Russian minorities became increasingly belligerent in their demands for autonomy from Moscow (see Ethnic Composition, ch. 4). The FSK was responsible for cooperating with other agencies of the Yeltsin government in monitoring ethnic issues, suppressing separatist unrest, and preventing violent conflict or terrorism. In keeping with this mandate, FSK troops joined MVD forces in backing Russian regular armed forces in the occupation of Chechnya (see Security Operations in Chechnya, this ch.). Russian security elements also have been active in Georgia, where they have assisted regular forces in containing the independence drive of Abkhazian troops and policing a two-year ceasefire that showed no sign of evolving into a permanent settlement as of mid-1996.

Federal Security Service (FSB)

The FSK was replaced by the Federal Security Service (Federal'naya sluzhba bezopasnosti—FSB) in April 1995. The new Law on Organs of the Federal Security Service outlined the FSB's mission in detail. The FSB regained a number of the functions that had been eliminated in earlier post-KGB reorganizations. Investigative authority was fully restored by the law, although the FSK had already been conducting criminal investigations on the basis of a presidential decree issued months before. Russia's fourteen investigative detention prisons and several special troop detachments also returned to the control of the security service.

The 1995 law authorizes security police to enter private residences if "there is sufficient reason to suppose that a crime is being or has been perpetrated there . . . or if pursuing persons suspected of committing a crime." In such cases, related laws require the officer in charge only to inform the procurator within twenty-four hours after entering a residence. Like the FSK statute, the new law gave the president direction of the activities of the security service, which has the status of a federal executive organ. Article 23 of the law stipulated that the president, the Federal Assembly (parliament), and the judicial organs monitor the security service. But the only right given deputies of the State Duma (the assembly's more powerful lower house) in this regard was a vague stipulation that deputies could obtain information regarding the activity of FSB organs in accordance with procedures laid down by legislation. The imprecision of actual oversight functions was compounded by the security law's provision that unpublished "normative acts" would govern much of the FSB's operations.

The law gave the FSB the right to conduct intelligence operations both within the country and abroad for the purpose of "enhancing the economic, scientific-technical and defense potential" of Russia. Although FSB intelligence operations abroad are to be carried out in collaboration with the Foreign Intelligence Service, the specifics of the collaboration were not spelled out. The liberal press reacted with great skepticism to the new law's potential for human rights violations and for reincarnation of the KGB.

Although the FSB is more powerful than its predecessor, FSB chief Stepashin operated under a political cloud because of his support for the botched Chechnya invasion. In July 1995, pressured by the State Duma and members of his administration, Yeltsin replaced Stepashin with the head of the Main Guard Directorate, General Mikhail Barsukov (see Main Guard Directorate (GUO), this ch.). Barsukov was closely linked to the director of Yeltsin's personal bodyguard organization (the Presidential Security Service), Aleksandr Korzhakov, who had acquired powerful political influence in the Kremlin.

Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information (FAPSI)

The KGB's Eighth Chief Directorate, which oversaw government communications and cipher systems, and another technical directorate, the sixteenth, were combined as the Federal

Agency for Government Communications and Information (Federal'noye agentstvo pravitel'stvennykh svyazi i informatsii—FAPSI), of which the former head of the Eighth Chief Directorate, Aleksandr Starovoytov, was named director. FAPSI has unlimited technical capabilities for monitoring communications and gathering intelligence. When the Law on Federal Organs of Government Communications and Information was published in February 1993, Russia's liberal press protested loudly. The newspaper *Nezavisimaya gazeta* called it the "law of Big Brother," pointing out that it not only gives the executive organs of government a monopoly over government communications and information but permits unwarranted interference in the communications networks of private banks and firms.

The communications and information law authorized FAPSI to issue licenses for the export and import of information technology, as well as for the telecommunications of all private financial institutions. Equipped with a body of special communications troops (authorized by the 1996 budget to number 54,000), FAPSI was given the right to monitor encoded communications of both government agencies and nonstate enterprises. This means that the agency can penetrate all private information systems. The law stipulated little parliamentary supervision of FAPSI aside from a vague statement that agency officials were to give reports to the legislative branch. The president, by contrast, was given specific power to monitor the execution of basic tasks assigned to FAPSI and to "sanction their operations."

Some of the functions of FAPSI overlap those of the FSB. The FSB's enabling law mandated that it detect signals from radio-electronic transmitters, carry out cipher work within its own agency, and protect coded information in other state organizations and even private enterprises. No specific boundary between the ciphering and communications functions of the two agencies was delineated in their enabling legislation, and there was even speculation that FAPSI would be merged into the FSB. A presidential decree of April 1995 defined agency responsibilities in the area of telecommunications licensing.

A critical area of overlap—and competition—is protection of data of crucial economic and strategic significance. By mid-1995 FAPSI director Starovoytov was pushing for a larger role for FAPSI in this area. He began issuing warnings about the intensified threat to secret economic data (including that of the Russian Central Bank) from Western special services, which

he said required his agency to take more stringent security measures.

Main Guard Directorate (GUO)

In mid-1992 the KGB's Ninth Directorate, charged with guarding government leaders and key buildings and installations, became the Main Guard Directorate (Glavnoye upravleniye okhraneniya—GUO), which until July 1995 was headed by Mikhail Barsukov. When Barsukov moved to the FSB, he was replaced as chief of the GUO by his deputy, General Yuriy Krapivin. Until mid-1996 the GUO included an autonomous subdivision, the Presidential Security Service, headed by Aleksandr Korzhakov. Beginning in 1991, both the GUO and Korzhakov's service grew steadily. By late 1994, the GUO staff reportedly had increased from 8,000 to more than 20,000 persons assigned to guard the offices, automobiles, apartments, and dachas of Russia's highest leaders, together with a variety of secret "objects of state importance."

The tasks and missions of the GUO are described in the Law on State Protection of Government Bodies and Their Officials, passed in April 1993. As of mid-1996, the agency had the same status as a state committee, but in fact the general statutes describing the government and the office of the presidency made no provision for such a structure (see The Constitution and Government Structure, ch. 7). The GUO's legal authorization to engage in investigative operations gives its officers the power to undertake invasive activities such as shadowing citizens and tapping telephones. The GUO was reported to have an unlimited budget, which it used to acquire sophisticated Western listening devices for use in Kremlin offices.

Shortly after the creation of the GUO, Yeltsin included in it the elite Alpha Group, a crack antiterrorist unit of 500 personnel (200 in Moscow, 300 elsewhere in Russia) that had been involved in operations in Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, and Lithuania. The Alpha Group had played a decisive role in the coup of August 1991 by refusing the coup leaders' orders to storm the parliament building, in spite of the group's subordination to the KGB, whose chief, Vladimir Kryuchkov, was a coup leader. In the following years, the Alpha Group gained a national reputation and became connected with figures in legitimate business, organized crime, and politics. In early 1996, Alpha Group veterans headed an estimated thirty-five commercial enterprises in Moscow.

In June 1995, the Alpha Group was sent to break the Budennovsk hostage crisis when Chechen rebels seized a hospital in southern Russia. Yeltsin disavowed responsibility for the attack's subsequent failure, and two months later he transferred the Alpha Group back to the jurisdiction of the FSB. In 1995, under the leadership of Sergey Goncharov, the Alpha veterans' association became politically active, strongly opposing Yeltsin loyalists in the December parliamentary elections (see The Elections of 1995, ch. 7). This antigovernment activity by former members of Yeltsin's security force raised questions about the loyalty of active security agencies. Following the 1995 elections, Goncharov's group continued to advocate restoration of Russia's military influence among the former Soviet republics that make up its "near abroad," as well as harsh measures against domestic organized crime.

By December 1993, Korzhakov's Presidential Security Service had become independent of the GUO, placing Korzhakov in a position subordinate only to Yeltsin. From the time of his appointment, Korzhakov was at Yeltsin's side constantly, becoming the most indispensable member of the presidential security force. Besides overseeing about 4,000 guards, Korzhakov came to supervise all the services in support of the president's operations. These included communications, presidential aircraft, and the secret bunker to be occupied in case war broke out. This prominent role led to speculation about Korzhakov's influence on policy matters outside the area of security, and his infrequent policy statements were closely analyzed by the news media. In June 1996, Yeltsin dismissed Korzhakov, together with FSB chief Barsukov and First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets, eliminating some of the most influential government figures of the anti-Western political faction prior to the second round of the presidential election.

Federal Border Service and Border Security

The fourth agency to emerge from the dismantled KGB was the national border troops command, which formerly had been administered as the KGB's Border Troops Directorate. By the mid-1990s, both the subordination and the size of this organization had undergone considerable change. For the Russian Federation, national border security issues have been much different from those of the Soviet Union; for this reason, and because of depleted resources to support security operations, border policy has become an especially important part of

Russia's overall relations with other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS—see Glossary).

Border Security Agencies

In 1989 the Border Troops' personnel strength was estimated at 230,000. Although under the operational authority of the KGB, border troops were conscripted as part of the biannual callup of the Ministry of Defense, and troop induction and discharge were regulated by the 1967 Law on Universal Military Service applicable to all the armed forces of the Soviet Union.

In the 1980s, the duties of the Border Troops included repulsing armed incursions into Soviet territory; preventing illegal crossings of the border or the transport of subversive or dangerous materials; monitoring the observance of established procedures at border crossings and of navigation procedures in Soviet territorial waters; and assisting state agencies in the preservation of natural resources and in environmental protection. In carrying out these duties, border troops were authorized to examine documents and possessions of persons crossing the borders and to confiscate articles; to conduct inquiries in cases of violation of the state border; and to arrest, search, and interrogate individuals suspected of border violations.

In the Soviet system, the border soldier was expected to defend both the physical border and the state ideology. The second of those assignments involved detecting and confiscating subversive literature and preventing, by violent means if necessary, the escape of citizens across the border.

In 1992 the Committee for the Protection of State Borders, an agency subordinate to the Ministry of Security, succeeded the KGB's Border Troops Directorate in administering frontier control. Although the personnel level had been reduced to about 180,000, the basic structure of the agency and the border configuration remained substantially the same as they had been in the late Soviet period. Viktor Shlyakhtin, the first post-Soviet chief of the border troops, was dismissed in July 1993 after more than twenty Russian border guards were killed in an attack on their post along the Afghanistan-Tajikistan border. Yeltsin replaced Shlyakhtin with General Andrey Nikolayev, who had been first deputy chief of the General Staff of the armed forces. This appointment was a sharp departure from the usual practice of naming a career border troops officer to the top post.

In late 1993, Yeltsin established the Federal Border Service to administer frontier control and gave that agency the status of a federal ministry under direct presidential control. The FSK (and then its successor, the FSB) retained operational responsibility for counterintelligence along the borders, however. In 1995 Nikolayev announced an ambitious program for building up and improving the border service in the years 1996–2000. The 1996 federal budget authorized a total troop strength of 210,000, which would be a significant increase from the 135,000 troops on duty in 1994. In 1996 the Federal Border Service oversaw six border districts and three special groups of border troops in the Arctic, Kaliningrad, and Moscow, as well as an independent border control detachment operating at Russia's major airports.

Given the agency's ambitious personnel requirements, staffing and financing the new border posts became problematic in the mid-1990s. Although Nikolayev warned parliament that his resources were insufficient, the Federal Border Service's 1995 budget was only 70 percent of the amount requested. Equipment was hopelessly outdated and in need of repair. According to estimates, in 1995 some 40 percent of the signaling and communications systems along the border had surpassed their service lives.

Post-Soviet Border Policy

In the 1990s, Russia lacked the secure buffer zone of Soviet republics and subservient East European countries that had provided border security in the Soviet era. The status of Russia's borders with neighbors Azerbaijan, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, and Ukraine has required the presence of a substantial force of armed troops. In Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Tajikistan, ethnic conflict has caused chronic instability near Russia's borders in the first half-decade of independence. In early 1996, the FSB reported that 13,500 kilometers of the national borders were not defined by internationally recognized treaties. After negotiations with Estonia failed in 1996, Russia unilaterally defined its border with that state, requiring the presence of border forces until disputes can be resolved. The border between Latvia and Russia also remained in dispute as of mid-1996.

After the Soviet Union was dissolved, it soon became clear that Russia did not have the resources to establish a fully equipped border regime along its boundaries within the CIS.

In 1993 Russia stated openly that its top priority was to guard the outside borders of the CIS (hence most of what had been the international borders of the Soviet Union) rather than the borders that Russia now shared with CIS countries (see The Near Abroad, ch. 8). Such a policy reestablished the border republics as a buffer zone against potential invasion from China or the Islamic states of Central Asia. The other CIS states do not have the resources to secure their outer boundaries, a situation that led in the early and mid-1990s to the mutually acceptable deployment of Russian border forces in each of the five Central Asian republics. In Kyrgyzstan a few thousand troops were stationed along the Chinese border. Certain outer boundaries of the CIS, such as the Tajikistani border with Afghanistan, required extra troop strength because of constant armed conflict. In 1994 Russia doubled its Tajikistan border force to about 15,000 troops.

One goal of this policy was to preserve the capability for quick action in case of border conflict and to protect Russia's "internal" frontiers from the smuggling of people and contraband, including arms. The second goal, most visible in Georgia and Tajikistan, was "peacekeeping" in pursuit of Moscow's foreign policy priorities within the border country. In pursuit of the second goal, in the mid-1990s border forces increasingly were used as an extension of Russia's military power in the CIS.

The revised view of border security naturally brought with it an effort at reintegration of the former Soviet republics. Russia began to advocate "transparent borders" with the coterminous CIS states—Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakstan, and Ukraine. This meant that borders would remain open for the unrestricted passage of people and goods. Strict border regimes would be established only in zones of acute conflict, such as the North Caucasus. The April 1993 Law on the State Border of the Russian Federation reflected this policy by abolishing the specially designated border districts of the Soviet system, leaving only border strips five kilometers wide. The law stipulated the goal of establishing a reduced and simplified border regime with all CIS states.

Security Operations in Chechnya

The internal instability of the Soviet government during 1990–91 invited expressions of separatism in many of Russia's distinct ethnic enclaves, as well as in ethnically Russian districts in the Soviet Far East. The most volatile and troublesome area

within the new Russian Federation was the North Caucasus, where the predominantly Muslim former Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic is located. A crisis had been building there for some time (see Movements Toward Sovereignty, ch. 4). In October 1991, a Chechen nationalist movement headed by former Soviet air force general Dzhokar Dudayev overthrew the existing government and installed Dudayev as president. Shortly thereafter, the Chechen Supreme Soviet declared Chechnya a sovereign republic.

Yeltsin responded by deploying Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) troops in the region, but the Russian Supreme Soviet declared the action invalid and ordered him to settle the conflict peaceably. The perceived indecision by the Russian government encouraged Chechen nationalists to pursue complete political independence and Russian recognition of that status. The Yeltsin administration was equally adamant in its refusal to negotiate until Chechnya redesignated itself part of the Russian Federation. Violence erupted in Chechnya on numerous occasions during 1993–94, and Russian security forces became fully involved in the conflict. In July 1994, a group of hostages taken by Chechen guerrillas near Pyatigorsk in Russian territory perished during an unsuccessful rescue operation by the MVD. The FSK armed Chechen opposition forces, which launched several unsuccessful attacks against the Dudayev government in the fall of 1994. When Russian conventional forces finally invaded Chechnya in December, they received substantial support from troops of the FSK, its successor the FSB, and the MVD. The FSB and MVD remained part of an uneasy occupation force through mid-1996 (see Chechnya, ch. 9).

Crime

The liberalizing changes of the post-Soviet era brought new types of crime, many of them associated with economic activities that had not existed until 1992. As the opportunities for legal commercial initiatives expanded rapidly, so did the opportunities to defraud Russian citizens inexperienced in economic matters and to take advantage of Russia's complete lack of laws covering many types of crime, including the organized extraction of protection money from economic enterprises.

Crime in the Soviet Era

Because the Soviet Union did not publish comprehensive

crime statistics, comparison of its crime rates with those of other countries is difficult. According to Western experts, robberies, murders, and other violent crimes were much less prevalent than in the United States because of the Soviet Union's larger police presence, strict gun controls, and relatively low incidence of drug abuse. By contrast, white-collar economic crime permeated the Soviet system. Bribery and covert payments for goods and services were universal, mainly because of the paucity of goods and services on the open market. Theft of state property was practiced routinely by employees, as were various forms of petty theft. In the last years of the Soviet Union, the government of Mikhail S. Gorbachev (in office 1985–91) made a concerted effort to curtail such white-collar crime. Revelations of corruption scandals involving high-level party employees appeared regularly in the Soviet news media, and many arrests and prosecutions resulted from such discoveries.

The Crime Wave of the 1990s

In the first half of the 1990s, crime statistics moved sharply and uniformly upward. From 1991 to 1992, the number of officially reported crimes and the overall crime rate each showed a 27 percent increase; the crime rate nearly doubled between 1985 and 1992. By the early 1990s, theft, burglary, and other acts against property accounted for about two-thirds of all crime in Russia. Of particular concern to citizens, however, was the rapid growth of violent crime, including gruesome homicides.

Crime Statistics

Moscow's 1995 statistics included 93,560 crimes, of which 18,500 were white-collar crimes—an increase of 8.3 percent over 1994. Among white-collar crimes, swindling increased 67.2 percent, and extortion 37.5 percent, in 1995. Among the conventional crimes reported, murder and attempted murder increased 1.5 percent, rape 6.5 percent, burglaries 6.6 percent, burglaries accompanied by violence 20.8 percent, and serious crimes by teenagers 2.2 percent. The rate of crime-solving by the Moscow militia (police) rose in 1995 from 57.7 percent to 64.9 percent, but that statistic was bolstered substantially by success in solving minor crimes; the projected rate of solving burglaries was 18.8 percent, of murders 42.2 percent, and of crimes involving use of a firearm, 31.4 percent. Moscow and St.

Petersburg were the centers of automobile theft, which increased dramatically through the first half of the 1990s. In Moscow an estimated fifty cars were stolen per day, with the estimated yearly total for Russia between 100,000 and 150,000. In the first quarter of 1994, Russia averaged eighty-four murders a day. Many of those crimes were contract killings attributed to criminal organizations. In 1994 murder victims included three deputies of the State Duma, one journalist, a priest, the head of a union, several local officials, and more than thirty businesspeople and bankers. Most of those crimes went unsolved.

The 1995 national crime total exceeded 1.3 million, including 30,600 murders. Crime experts predicted that the murder total would reach 50,000 in 1996. In 1995 some 248 regular militia officers were killed in the line of duty.

Confiscation of firearms, possession of which has been identified as another grave social problem, increased substantially in 1995, according to the Moscow militia's Regional Organized Crime Directorate. About 3 million firearms were registered in 1995, but the number of unregistered guns was assumed to far exceed that figure. Military weapons are stolen frequently and sold to gangsters; in 1993 nearly 60,000 cases of such theft were reported, involving machine guns, hand grenades, and explosives, among other weapons (see Crime in the Military, ch. 9). The ready availability of firearms has made the work of the poorly armed militia more dangerous.

Organized Crime

By early 1994, crime was second only to the national economy as a domestic issue in Russia. In January 1994, a report prepared for President Yeltsin by the Analytical Center for Social and Economic Policies was published in the national daily newspaper *Izvestiya*. According to the center, between 70 and 80 percent of private enterprises and commercial banks were forced to pay protection fees to criminal organizations, which in Russia received the generic label *mafiya*. Unlike organized crime in other countries, which controls only such criminal activities as drug trafficking and gambling, and specific types of legitimate enterprise such as municipal trash collection, the Russian crime organizations have gained strong influence in a wide variety of economic activities. In addition, beginning with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the weakening of border controls, Russia has been drawn into the net-

work of international organized crime. In this way, Russia has become a major conduit for the movement of drugs, contraband, and laundered money between Europe and Asia. In 1995 an estimated 150 criminal organizations with transnational links were operating in Russia.

Among the main targets of organized crime are businesses and banks in Russia's newly privatized economy and foreigners—both individual and corporate—in possession of luxury goods or the hard currency (see Glossary) to purchase them. Many of Russia's *mafiya* figures began their "careers" in the black market during the communist era. They are now able to operate overtly and are increasingly brazen. Many current and former government officials and businesspeople have been identified as belonging to the *mafiya* network.

The 1994 report to the president described collusion between criminal gangs and local law enforcement officials, which made controlling crime especially difficult. The enforcement problem, which became acute in 1993, was exacerbated by overtaxation, confusing regulations, and the absence of an effective judicial system. By 1993 criminal groups had moved into commercial ventures, using racketeering, kidnapping, and murder to intimidate competition. In 1994 an MVD official estimated that there were 5,700 criminal gangs in Russia, with a membership of approximately 100,000.

In March 1995, Vladislav List'ev, a prominent television journalist, was assassinated. List'ev had been a supporter of efforts to stop corruption in state television, where large amounts of advertising revenues were being extorted by organized crime. A Russian news agency reported that, between 1992 and mid-1995, there had been eighty-three attempts—forty-six of which were successful—to kill bankers and businesspeople. In 1996 contract killings remained a regular occurrence, especially in Moscow.

Nuclear Security

Neither civilian nor military nuclear facilities have adequate security. Thefts of nuclear materials from Russia gained international attention in 1993 and 1994. In 1995 the FSB reported investigations of thirty such incidents. Such thefts assumedly were intended to supply smuggling operations into Iran and Germany, among other destinations. Although the Russian government took nominal steps to improve nuclear security early in 1995, the minister of internal affairs reported that 80 per-

cent of nuclear enterprises lacked checkpoints. Western experts pointed to the potential for organized criminals to obtain weapons-grade nuclear materials, and in 1996 new reports described lax security at nuclear installations.

Terrorism

Security police reported that between 1991 and 1993 the incidence of terrorist bombings rose from fifty to 350. The methods used by organized criminals in Russia caused experts to include Russia as a likely location in their identification of a new wave of world terrorism in the 1990s. Besides organized crime, a second factor potentially contributing to terrorism is the extreme instability of economic and social conditions: high unemployment and job insecurity, friction among ethnic groups and between urban populations and job-seeking migrants into their cities, and a general decline in the standard of living. The vulnerability of Russia's isolated transport and pipeline systems and the proximity of hazardous-materials centers to cities further increase the prospect of terrorist activities. In 1995 terrorist acts and two major instances of hostage taking by Chechen separatists promoted fears that vulnerable citizens and locations in other parts of Russia might be targeted by separatist groups. In December 1995, an international conference on terrorism in Ottawa categorized the Budennovsk hostage incident of June 1995—in which Chechen guerrillas captured more than 1,000 hostages 120 kilometers inside Russian territory—with the Oklahoma City bombing and Middle Eastern terrorist acts as examples of flagrant international terrorism.

Narcotics

In the mid-1990s, narcotics addiction and sales play a growing role in the disruption of Russian society. This trend has been promoted by an adverse economic situation, a general lack of high-level control over the use and movement of narcotic substances, and the continued laxity of border controls. Between 1993 and 1995, the annual amount of seized drugs increased from thirty-five to ninety tons; experts believe that Russia has the largest per capita drug market of all the former Soviet republics.

According to the Russian government's Center for the Study of Drug Addiction, in early 1996 at least 500,000 Russians were dependent on illegal drugs. With use increasing at an estimated rate of 50 percent per year, the total number of users

was estimated at 2 million in 1995. Drug traffickers, supplied mainly with opium from Central Asia and heroin from Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, have targeted Russia as a market and as a conduit to Western markets. In the early 1990s, cocaine use appeared among affluent young Russians, and beginning in 1993 the interception of cocaine shipments in St. Petersburg indicated that South American producers had entered the Russian market. Criminal organizations are believed to control most trafficking and distribution in Russia. Some local Russian distributors are closely linked with criminal groups in Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Ukraine. Russian soldiers and officers in Afghanistan and later in Central Asia became active in smuggling the narcotics easily available in those countries into Russia. Reportedly, members of the Russian 201st Motorized Infantry Division, stationed in Tajikistan, have established a profitable enterprise that is tacitly accepted by Russian and Tajikistani authorities. The Moscow State Institute of International Relations has reported the existence of a regular smuggling route going fromTajikistan to Russia's Black Sea port of Rostov-na-Donu via Turkmenistan, and from there to Western Europe. One explanation of the Russian attack on Chechnya, published in the independent newspaper *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, was that it was a reprisal against Chechen president Dzhokar Dudayev for demanding more protection money for narcotics shipments through Chechnya to Rostov-na-Donu.

Narcotics production in Russia also is rising. In 1993 the government seized 215 laboratories, many of them small-scale amphetamine producers who used stolen government equipment. Newly privatized chemical laboratories are more difficult to monitor than were Soviet-era state facilities. Opium poppies and marijuana are grown in southern Russia, although cultivation is illegal. In 1995 an MVD official estimated that about 1 million hectares of wild cannabis was growing and easily available in Siberia; opium cultivation also is believed to be increasing.

The laundering of drug money is encouraged by Russia's lax monetary regulations and controls. Some local banks are controlled by criminal groups that use them to launder profits from illegal activities, including drug sales. According to one 1995 estimate, as many as 25 percent of Moscow's commercial banks are part of this operation. Legislation against money laundering was proposed but had not been passed as of mid-1996.

In 1994 the Yeltsin administration formed an interministerial counternarcotics committee, involving twenty-four agencies, to coordinate drug policy. In 1995 a three-year antidrug program was approved to support interdiction and drug treatment facilities. The program also was intended to criminalize drug use, extend sentences for drug trafficking, and establish a pharmaceuticals-monitoring process. In 1995 the full-time staff of the anti-drug-trafficking department of the MVD increased from about 3,500 to 4,000. The State Customs Committee increased its drug control staff by 350 and added fifty field offices, and the Federal Border Service created an antidrug force. The Moscow City Council instituted drug education programs in some city schools in 1993, and several private organizations have sponsored national programs to curb demand. The government has not aggressively addressed the rehabilitation of drug addicts or the reduction of demand, however; in 1995 an estimated 90 percent of Russia's drug addicts went untreated (see Health Conditions, ch. 5).

The Russian government has signed a number of international conventions on narcotics (responsibility for some of which it inherited from the Soviet Union), including the 1988 United Nations Convention on Narcotic Drugs. Russia will not be in full compliance with the convention, however, until it has stricter controls on production and distribution and tougher criminal penalties for possession of drugs. The United States government has offered Russia advice and training courses on various aspects of narcotics control. A mutual legal-assistance agreement with the United States went into effect in early 1996, and the Federal Border Service has memorandums of understanding on narcotics cooperation with the United States Coast Guard and with Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

The Criminal Justice System

The Federal Security Service (FSB) has a staff of several thousand responsible for investigating crimes of national and international scope such as terrorism, smuggling, treason, violations of secrecy laws, and large-scale economic crime and corruption—an area of jurisdiction similar to that of the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Several other state organizations also have designated criminal investigatory responsibilities.

Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD)

Unlike the successor agencies to the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerstvo vnutrennikh del—MVD) did not undergo extensive reorganization after 1991. The MVD carries out regular police functions, including maintenance of public order and criminal investigation. It also has responsibility for fire fighting and prevention, traffic control, automobile registration, transportation security, issuance of visas and passports, and administration of labor camps and most prisons.

In 1996 the MVD was estimated to have 540,000 personnel, including the regular militia (police force) and MVD special troops but not including the ministry's Internal Troops. The MVD operates at both the central and local levels. The central system is administered from the ministry office in Moscow. As of mid-1996, the minister of internal affairs was General Anatoliy Kulikov. He replaced Viktor Yerin, who was dismissed in response to State Duma demands after the MVD mishandled the 1995 Budennovsk hostage crisis.

MVD agencies exist at all levels from the national to the municipal. MVD agencies at lower operational levels conduct preliminary investigations of crimes. They also perform the ministry's policing, motor vehicle inspection, and fire and traffic control duties. MVD salaries are generally lower than those paid in other agencies of the criminal justice system. Reportedly, staffers are poorly trained and equipped, and corruption is widespread.

Until 1990 Russia's regular militia was under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Soviet Union. At that time, the Russian Republic established its own MVD, which assumed control of the republic's militia. In the late 1980s, the Gorbachev regime had attempted to improve training, tighten discipline, and decentralize the administration of the militia throughout the Soviet Union so that it might respond better to local needs and deal more effectively with drug trafficking and organized crime. Some progress was made toward these objectives despite strong opposition from conservative elements in the CPSU leadership. However, after 1990 the redirection of MVD resources to the Internal Troops and to the MVD's new local riot squads undercut militia reform. In the August 1991 coup against the Gorbachev government, most Russian police remained inactive, although some in Moscow joined the Yeltsin forces that opposed the overthrow of the government.

Police watch demonstration in Red Square, Moscow, March 1992. Courtesy Mike Albin

In early 1996, a reorganization plan was proposed for the MVD, with the aim of more effective crime prevention. The plan called for increasing the police force by as many as 90,000, but funding was not available for such expansion. Meanwhile, the MVD recruited several thousand former military personnel, whose experience reduced the need for police training. At the end of 1995, the MVD reported debts of US$717 million, including US$272 million in overdue wages. In February 1996, guards at a jail and a battalion of police escorts went on a hunger strike; at that point, some of the MVD's Internal Troops had not been paid for three months. Minister of Internal Affairs Kulikov described the ministry's 1996 state budget allocation of US$5.2 billion as wholly inadequate to fulfill its missions. Participation in the Chechnya campaign added enormously to ministry expenditures.

The MVD's militia is used for ordinary policing functions such as law enforcement on the streets, crowd control, and traffic control. As part of a trend toward decentralization, some municipalities, including Moscow, have formed their own militias, which cooperate with their MVD counterpart. Although a new law on self-government supports such local law enforce-

ment agencies, the Yeltsin administration attempted to head off further moves toward independence by strictly limiting local powers. The regular militia does not carry guns or other weapons except in emergency situations, such as the parliamentary crisis of 1993, when it was called upon to fight antigovernment crowds in the streets of Moscow.

The militia is divided into local public security units and criminal police. The security units run local police stations, temporary detention centers, and the State Traffic Inspectorate. They deal with crimes outside the jurisdiction of the criminal police and are charged with routine maintenance of public order. The criminal police are divided into organizations responsible for combating particular types of crime. The Main Directorate for Organized Crime (Glavnoye upravleniye organizovannogo prestupleniya—GUOP) works with other agencies such as the MVD's specialized rapid-response detachments; in 1995 special GUOP units were established to deal with contract killings and other violent crimes against individuals. The Federal Tax Police Service deals primarily with tax evasion and similar crimes. In an attempt to improve Russia's notoriously inefficient tax collection operation, the Federal Tax Police Service received authority in 1995 to carry out preliminary criminal investigations independently. The 1996 budget authorized a staff of 38,000 for this agency.

Throughout the first half of the 1990s, Russia's militia functioned with minimal arms, equipment, and support from the national legal system. The inadequacy of the force became particularly apparent in the wave of organized crime that began sweeping over Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Many highly qualified individuals have moved from the militia into better-paying jobs in the field of private security, which has expanded to meet the demand of companies needing protection from organized crime. Frequent bribe taking among the remaining members of the militia has damaged the force's public credibility. Numerous revelations of participation by militia personnel in murders, prostitution rings, information peddling, and tolerance of criminal acts have created a general public perception that all police are at least taking bribes. Bribery of police officers to avoid arrest for traffic violations and petty crimes is a routine and expected occurrence.

In a 1995 poll of the public, only 5 percent of respondents expressed confidence in the ability of the militia to deal with crime in their city. Human rights organizations have accused

the Moscow militia of racism in singling out non-Slavic individuals (especially immigrants from Russia's Caucasus republics), physical attacks, unjustified detention, and other rights violations. In 1995 Kulikov conducted a high-profile "Clean Hands Campaign" to purge the MVD police forces of corrupt elements. In its first year, this limited operation caught several highly placed MVD officials collecting bribes, indicating a high level of corruption throughout the agency. According to experts, the main causes of corruption are insufficient funding to train and equip personnel and pay them adequate wages, poor work discipline, lack of accountability, and fear of reprisals from organized criminals.

The Special Forces Police Detachment (Otryad militsii osobogo naznacheniya—OMON), commonly known as the Black Berets, is a highly trained elite branch of the public security force of the MVD militia. Established in 1987, OMON is assigned to emergency situations such as hostage crises, widespread public disturbances, and terrorist threats. In the Soviet period, OMON forces also were used to quell unrest in rebellious republics. In the 1990s, OMON units have been stationed at transportation hubs and population centers. The Moscow contingent, reportedly 2,000 strong, receives support from the mayor's office and the city's internal affairs office as well as from the MVD budget. OMON units have the best and most up-to-date weapons and combat equipment available, and they enjoy a reputation for courage and effectiveness.

The MVD's Internal Troops, estimated to number 260,000 to 280,000 in mid-1996, are better equipped and trained than the regular militia. The size of the force, which is staffed by both conscripts and volunteers, has grown steadily through the mid-1990s, although the troop commander has reported serious shortages of officers. Critics have noted that the Internal Troops have more divisions in a combat-ready state than do the regular armed forces (see Force Structure, ch. 9).

According to the Law on Internal Troops, issued in October 1992, the functions of the Internal Troops are to ensure public order; guard key state installations, including nuclear power plants; guard prisons and labor camps (a function that was to end in 1996); and contribute to the territorial defense of the nation. It was under the last mandate that Internal Troops were deployed in large numbers after the December 1994 invasion of Chechnya. In November 1995, MVD troops in Chechnya totaled about 23,500. This force included unknown propor-

tions of Internal Troops, specialized rapid-response troops, and special military detachments. Internal Troops are equipped with guns and combat equipment to deal with serious crimes, terrorism, and other extraordinary threats to public order. In 1995 the crime rate among Internal Troops personnel doubled. A contributing factor was a steep increase in desertions that coincided with service in Chechnya, where the Internal Troops were routinely used for street patrols in 1995.

The Procuracy

In the Soviet criminal justice system, the Procuracy was the most powerful institution dealing with nonpolitical crimes. Since 1991 the agency has retained its dual responsibility for the administration of judicial oversight and for criminal investigations—which means, essentially, that prosecution of crimes and findings of guilt or innocence are overseen by the same office. As it was under the Soviet system, the Procuracy in the 1990s is a unified, centralized agency with branches in all subnational jurisdictions, including cities. The chief of the agency is the procurator general, who is appointed by the president with the approval of the State Duma. (Under the Soviet system, the Supreme Soviet appointed the procurator general.)

Proposed reforms of the notoriously corrupt and inefficient Procuracy had not yet been enacted by the Russian government as of mid-1996, so the agency continued to function in much the same way as it did in the Soviet period. Experts did not believe that a new law on the Procuracy, proposed in 1995 and 1996, would establish a reliable oversight system over security-agency and regular police operations. In the meantime, procurators continued to arrest citizens without constitutionally mandated arrest warrants, and the general surveillance departments of the Procuracy continued to spy on law-abiding groups and individuals.

In 1995 about 28,000 procurators were active at some level in the Russian Federation. Appointed to five-year terms, procurators must have a postgraduate education in jurisprudence. The Procuracy employs a large number of investigators who carry out preliminary investigations in what are called specific areas of competence. Special investigators are designated for cases identified as "essentially important" by state authorities. The Procuracy also has several institutions for research and education attached to it.

Criminal Law Reform in the 1990s

In the mid-1990s, several efforts were made to pass a Criminal Code of the Russian Federation to replace the inadequate and antiquated Criminal Code of the RSFSR, which was passed in the 1960s and had remained the fundamental law of the land, with numerous amendments, since that time. In December 1995, Yeltsin, heeding MVD objections to certain articles, vetoed a code that had been developed by his own State Law Directorate and passed by parliament. No amended code was expected until after the presidential election of July 1996. Meanwhile, Russia lacked laws on organized crime and corruption under which *mafiya* and economic crimes could be prosecuted.

In the absence of a comprehensive overhaul of the Criminal Code, Yeltsin responded to the growing problem of crime by enacting measures that broadly expanded police powers. In June 1994, he issued a presidential decree, Urgent Measures to Implement the Program to Step Up the Fight Against Crime. The decree included major steps to increase the efficiency of the law enforcement agencies, including material incentives for the staff and better equipment and resources. The decree also called for an increase of 52,000 in the strength of the MVD Internal Troops and for greater coordination in the operations of the Federal Counterintelligence Service (FSK), the MVD, and other law enforcement bodies. Control over the issuing of entry visas and the private acquisition of photocopiers was to be tightened. The decree also mandated the preparation of laws broadening police rights to conduct searches and to carry weapons.

Yeltsin's anticrime decree had the stated purpose of preserving the security of the society and the state; however, the system of urgent measures it introduced had the effect of reducing the rights of individuals accused of committing crimes. Under the new guidelines, individuals suspected of serious offenses could be detained up to thirty days without being formally charged. During that time, suspects could be interrogated and their financial affairs examined. The secrecy regulations of banks and commercial enterprises would not protect suspects in such cases. Intelligence service representatives have the authority to enter any premises without a warrant, to examine private documents, and to search automobiles, their drivers, and their passengers. Human rights activists protested the decree as a violation of the 1993 constitution's protection of

individuals from arbitrary police power (see Civil Rights, ch. 7). Already in 1992, Yeltsin had expanded the infamous Article 70, a Soviet-era device used to silence political dissent, which criminalized any form of public demand for change in the constitutional system, as well as the formation of any assemblage calling for such measures.

Meanwhile, the Russian police immediately began acting on their broad mandate to fight crime. In the summer of 1994, the Moscow MVD carried out a citywide operation called Hurricane that employed about 20,000 crack troops and resulted in 759 arrests. A short time later, the FSK reported that its operatives had arrested members of a right-wing terrorist group, the so-called Werewolf Legion, who were planning to bomb Moscow cinemas. Although crime continued to rise after Yeltsin's decree, the rate of crime solving improved from its 1993 level of 51 percent to 65 percent in 1995, assumedly because of expanded police powers.

Although the Russian parliament opposed many of Yeltsin's policies, the majority of deputies were even more inclined than Yeltsin to expand police authority at the expense of individual rights. In July 1995, the State Duma passed the new Law on Operational-Investigative Activity, which had been introduced by the Yeltsin administration to replace Article 70. The law widened the list of agencies entitled to conduct investigations, at the same time broadening the powers of all investigatory agencies beyond those stipulated in the earlier law.

The 1995 draft Criminal Code included an article specifically prohibiting "conspiracy with the aim of seizing power and forcibly changing the constitutional form of government," an activity subject to a sentence of up to life imprisonment. The new law opened the concept of conspiracy to broad interpretation by state authorities, varying from a meeting held by the leadership of an opposition party to a simple telephone conversation between two citizens.

The draft code also broadened the law on violations of civil rights on the basis of nationality or race, which carries a maximum sentence of five years. As in the case of conspiracy and political statutes, the ambiguity of the nationality and race law opened the door for serious abuses of individual rights. Prosecutors and judges were granted wide latitude in deciding what constitute "acts directed at incitement of social, national, racial, or religious hostility or discord." Such a charge could be leveled easily in a society with a huge variety of ethnic and reli-

gious groups, particularly groups with existing claims of autonomy or traditions of hostility toward one another (see Ethnic Composition, ch. 4).

Many legal experts considered the new draft Criminal Code, which is a synthesis of presidential and State Duma proposals, to be a significant improvement over the old code. But, unlike Western states, Russia does not have a tradition of respect for legal rights or a well-established, balanced system of justice to interpret and administer the laws. Many of the laws adopted in the early 1990s concern crimes whose investigation is delegated to the security police, which have a history of human rights abuses and were not placed under effective oversight by the reforms of the early 1990s. Thus, in the atmosphere of relative political pluralism and freedom of expression in the first years of the Yeltsin administration, security agents still sometimes take advantage of the law to employ KGB-style tactics.

Despite a lack of sympathy for personal liberty, in the early 1990s the Yeltsin administration made some reforms in the legal system to protect the rights of the individual. In June 1992, the Code of Criminal Procedure was amended to give a detainee the right to legal counsel immediately, rather than, as in the past, only after initial questioning. A detainee's right to demand a judicial review of the legality and grounds for detention also was recognized. In practice, however, these changes often have been offset by other laws intended to protect the state at the expense of the individual. The clearest example is Yeltsin's sweeping anticrime decree of 1992, but other instances have followed. In March 1995, Yeltsin issued a decree against fascist organizations and practices, which gave the security police broad new authority to arrest and investigate suspects. Under the 1995 draft Criminal Code, a person under arrest could not appeal to the courts to protest his or her confinement, but only to the procurator. The president also could appoint a special prosecutor to bring "highly placed individuals" to justice, thus undermining the principle of independent judges. The new code also extended the maximum period of internment of suspects without formal charges from three to seven days, although the counsel for the defense could not become acquainted with the materials of the criminal case until after the preliminary investigation had been completed.

Secrecy Laws

The passage of a new secrecy law in 1993 indicated that the

Yeltsin government was not prepared to abjure the protection of state secrets as a rationale for controlling the activities of Russian citizens. The secrecy law of 1993, harshly criticized by human rights activists, set forth in detail the procedure for labeling and protecting information whose dispersal would constitute a danger to the state. The concept of secrecy was given a broad interpretation. The law prescribed secret classifications for information on foreign policy, economics, national defense, intelligence, and counterintelligence. However, a more specific description of the classification process, including which specific types of information were to be classified as secret and which agencies and departments were authorized to classify information, was to be made public at a later date.

In general, the security police under Yeltsin do not use secrecy laws to prosecute individuals, but there have been exceptions. In October 1992, officers from the Ministry of Security arrested two chemical scientists, Vil' Mirzayanov and Lev Fedorov, for having written an article on current Russian chemical weapons research in a widely circulated daily newspaper. The article's revelation was embarrassing to the Yeltsin government because Russia had claimed it was no longer conducting such research. Although Mirzayanov was brought to trial in early 1994, public and international protest caused the Yeltsin government to release him two months later. In a landmark decision, the procurator's office awarded Mirzayanov about US$15,500 in damages for having been illegally detained.

How the System Works

According to Russian criminal procedure, officers of the MVD, the Federal Security Service (FSB), or the Procuracy can arrest an individual on suspicion of having committed a crime. Ordinary crimes, including murder, come under the jurisdiction of the MVD; the FSB and the Procuracy are authorized to deal with crimes such as terrorism, treason, smuggling, and large-scale economic malfeasance. The accused has the right to obtain an attorney immediately after the arrest, and, in most cases, the accused must be charged officially within seventy-two hours of the arrest. In some circumstances, the period of confinement without charge can be extended. Once the case is investigated, it is assigned to a court for trial. Trials are public, with the exception of proceedings involving government secrets.

Sevastopol' District Court, Moscow
Courtesy Michael E. Samojeden

In August 1995, the State Duma passed a law giving judges and jurors protection against illegal influence on the process of trying a case. To the extent that it actually is practiced, the new law is a significant barrier to the Soviet-era practice of judges consulting with political officials before rendering verdicts. The protection of jurors became a concern in 1995 as jury trials, outlawed since 1918, returned on an experimental basis in nine subnational jurisdictions. Between January and September 1995, some 300 jury trials were held in those areas. Although another sixteen jurisdictions applied to begin holding jury trials, in mid-1996 the State Duma had not passed enabling legislation. In 1996 the court system convicted some 99.5 percent of criminal defendants, although only 80 percent were convicted in jury trials—about the same percentage as in Western courts. Expansion of the jury system faced strong opposition among Russia's police and prosecutors because the conviction rate is much lower and investigative procedures are held to much higher standards under such a system. Meanwhile, the advent of trial by jury and a nominally independent judiciary exposed a serious problem: in 1995 there were only about 20,000 private attorneys and about 28,000 public prose-

cutors in all of Russia, and most judges who had functioned under the old system had never developed genuine juridical skills. By the mid-1990s, a number of younger judges were actively promoting the jury system.

In the mid-1990s, claims of illegal detention received somewhat more recognition in the Russian legal system than they had previously. An estimated 13,000 individuals won their release by court order in 1994—about 20 percent of the total number who claimed illegal detention that year. In general, the criminal justice system is more protective of individual rights than it was in the Soviet period, although the Mirzayanov case demonstrated that substantial obstacles to Western-style jurisprudence remain in Russia's legal system.

Capital punishment is reserved for grave crimes such as murder and terrorism; it cannot be inflicted on a woman or on an individual less than eighteen years old. In 1995 four offenses—terrorist acts, terrorist acts against a representative of a foreign state, sabotage, and counterfeiting—were removed from the list of capital crimes. In March 1991, Yeltsin formed a thirteen-member Pardons Commission of volunteer advisers for the specific purpose of considering reductions of death sentences. According to one member of that commission, between 1991 and 1994 the incidence of capital punishment (inflicted in Russia by firing squad) dropped sharply; in 1994 only four executions were carried out, and 124 death sentences were commuted. In 1995, however, the political pressure generated by Russia's crime wave changed the totals to eighty-six executions and only six commutations. After Yeltsin repeatedly ignored its clemency recommendations in 1995, the Pardons Commission reportedly ceased functioning in early 1996, despite the protests of Russian and international human rights organizations. Russia's membership in the Council of Europe (see Glossary), which became official in January 1996, requires an immediate moratorium on executions, plus complete elimination of the death penalty from the Criminal Code within three years. Russia's execution rate rose in the first months of 1996 before declining sharply.

Prisons

In the 1980s, the Soviet Union had few conventional prisons. About 99 percent of convicted criminals served their sentences in labor camps. These were supervised by the Main Directorate for Corrective Labor Camps (Glavnoye upravleniye ispravi-

tel'no-trudovykh lagerey—Gulag), which was administered by the MVD. The camps had four regimes of ascending severity. In the strict-regime camps, inmates worked at the most difficult jobs, usually outdoors, and received meager rations. Jobs were progressively less demanding and rations better in the three classifications of camps with more clement regimes. The system of corrective labor was viewed by Soviet authorities as successful because of the low rate of recividism. However, in the opinion of former inmates and Western observers, prisons and labor camps were notorious for their harsh conditions, arbitrary and sadistic treatment of prisoners, and flagrant abuses of human rights. In 1989 new legislation, emphasizing rehabilitation rather than punishment, was drafted to "humanize" the Gulag system. Nevertheless, few changes occurred in the conditions of most prisoners before the end of the Soviet period in 1991.

In the post-Soviet period, all prisons and labor camps except for fourteen detention prisons fell under the jurisdiction of the MVD. In the early and mid-1990s, the growth of crime led to a rapid rise in the number of prisoners. Because of overcrowding and the failure to build new prison facilities, conditions in prisons deteriorated steadily after 1991, and some incidents of Soviet-style arbitrary punishment continued to be reported. In 1994 a Moscow prison designed to hold 8,500 inmates was housing well over 17,000 shortly after its completion. Many prisons are unfit for habitation because of insufficient sanitation systems. In 1995 *Nezavisimaya gazeta* reported that the capacity of isolation wards in Moscow and St. Petersburg prisons had been exceeded by two to two-and-one-half times. Observers claimed that some prisons stopped providing food to prisoners for months at a time, relying instead on rations sent from outside. The lack of funding also led to a crisis in medical care for prisoners. In 1995 Yeltsin's Human Rights Commission condemned the prison system for continuing to allow violations of prisoners' rights. The report cited lack of expert supervision as the main reason that such practices, which often included beatings, were not reported and punished.

In 1995 conditions in the penal system had deteriorated to the point that the State Duma began calling for a transfer of prison administration from the MVD to the Ministry of Justice. According to Western experts, however, the MVD's Chief Directorate for Enforcement of Punishment has been prevented from improving the situation by funding limitations, personnel

problems, and lack of legislative support, rather than by internal shortcomings.

By the mid-1990s, Russian penal legislation resembled that enacted in Western countries, although the conditions of detention did not. Post-Soviet legislation has abolished arbitrary or inhumane practices such as bans on visitors and mail, head shaving, and physical abuse. Also, prison officials now are required to protect prisoners who have received threats, and freedom of religious practice is guaranteed. Prisoners are rewarded for good behavior by being temporarily released outside the prison; in 1993 the MVD reported a 97 percent rate of return after such releases. However, the penalty for violent escape has increased to eight additional years' detention. In 1996 the function of guarding prisons was to pass completely from the MVD to local prison administrations, and a complete restructuring was announced for that year.

Although conditions in the labor camps are harsh, those in pretrial detention centers are even worse. According to the Society for the Guardianship of Penitentiary Institutions, the government's inability to implement a functional system of release on bail meant that by the end of 1994 some 233,500 persons—more than 20 percent of the entire prison population—were incarcerated in pretrial detention centers, sometimes for a period longer than the nominal punishment for the crime of which they were accused.

In 1994 the total prison population was estimated at slightly more than 1 million people, of whom about 600,000 were held in labor camps. Of the latter number, about 21,600 were said to be women and about 19,000 to be adolescents. Among the entire prison population in 1994, about half were incarcerated for violent crimes, 60 percent were repeat offenders, and more than 15 percent were alcoholics or drug addicts.

As in the Soviet period, corrective-labor institutions have made a significant contribution to the national economy. In the early 1990s, industrial output in the camps reached an estimated US$100 million, and forest-based camps added about US$27 million, chiefly from the production of commercial lumber, railroad ties, and summer cabins. Because the camps supply their products to conventional state enterprises, however, they have suffered from the decline in that phase of Russia's economy; an estimated 200,000 convicts were without work in the camps in early 1994 (see Economic Conditions in Mid-1996, ch. 6). In 1995 the chief of the Directorate for Supervi-

sion of the Legality of Prison Punishment reported that the population of labor camps exceeded the capacity of those facilities by an average of 50 percent.

Outlook

In the mid-1990s, the Russian government maintained a precarious balance between the newly discovered rights of citizens and the government's perceived need for security from domestic criticism and threats to its power. Between 1992 and 1996, the record of the Yeltsin administration was decidedly mixed. Reforms gradually appeared in prison administration, the rights of those accused of crimes, and the introduction of trial by jury, but beginning in 1993 legislation and executive decrees increasingly had the objective of strengthening the arbitrary powers of government over its citizens in the name of national security. The Procuracy maintains much of the independence it had in the Soviet period; although the role of judges and defense attorneys nominally is greater in the post-Soviet system, Russia suffers a severe shortage of individuals experienced in the workings of a Western-style legal system.

The national security establishment, generally smaller and less competent than the pervasive KGB monolith of the Soviet period, has undergone reorganization and internal power struggles in the 1990s, and in some instances it has been made the scapegoat for setbacks such as the Chechnya invasion. Agencies such as the regular militia (police) and the Federal Border Service have not been able to deal effectively with increased crime, smuggling, and illegal immigration; lack of funding is an important reason for this failure. More specialized national security agencies such as the FSB maintain special investigative prerogatives beyond the purview of normal law enforcement.

As average Russian citizens have gained marginally greater freedom from the fear of arbitrary government intrusion, they have been plagued with a crime wave whose intensity has mounted every year since 1991. All types of illegal activity—common street theft, drug-related crime, murder, white-collar financial crime, and extortion by organized criminals—have flourished. Although the government has announced studies and special programs, Russian society continues to present an inviting target to criminals in the absence of effective law enforcement and the presence of rampant corruption.

* * *

The status and development of Russia's internal security agencies and crime situation are described in numerous periodical articles and a few substantive monographs. In *The KGB: Police and Politics in the Soviet Union,* Amy Knight describes the structure and influence of the KGB in its final stage before the end of the Soviet Union. The post-Soviet position of internal security agencies is described by J. Michael Waller in *Secret Empire: The KGB in Russia Today.* In *Comrade Criminal: Russia's New Mafia,* Stephen Handelman investigates Russia's organized criminal element and official corruption, against the backdrop of social conditions and government attitudes prevalent in the 1990s. The 1996 *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report* of the United States Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics Matters provides a summary of narcotics activity and government prevention measures in Russia. Penny Morvant's article "War on Organized Crime and Corruption" describes Russia's crime wave and government attempts to combat it; two articles in the *RFE/RL Research Report,* Christopher J. Ulrich's "The Growth of Crime in Russia and the Baltic Region" and Julia Wishnevsky's "Corruption Allegations Undermine Russia's Leaders," approach the same topics from different perspectives. Numerous articles in the *Christian Science Monitor,* the Foreign Broadcast Information Service's *Daily Report: Central Eurasia,* and the Moscow daily newspapers *Nezavisimaya gazeta* and *Izvestiya* include current information on Russia's criminal justice and prison systems and on the crime problem. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Appendix

Table

1 Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors
2 Rulers of Muscovy and the Russian Empire, 1462–1917
3 Populated Places in European Russia Irradiated by Chernobyl' and Other Industrial Accidents
4 Area, Population, and Capitals of the Soviet Republics, 1989 Census
5 Largest Nature Reserves and National Parks, 1992
6 Per Capita Annual Consumption of Selected Foods, 1991–94
7 Population by Age and Sex, 1992
8 Major Ethnic Groups, Selected Years, 1959–89
9 Ethnic Composition of Autonomous Republics, 1989
10 Ethnically Designated Jurisdictions, 1996
11 Indicators of Living Standards, 1991–94
12 Students in Primary and Secondary Schools, Selected Years, 1986–93
13 Education Statistics for the Autonomous Republics, 1994
14 Incidence of Selected Diseases, 1990–94
15 Land Utilization, 1993 and 1994
16 Revenue Sources of Subnational Jurisdictions, 1992, 1993, and 1994
17 Labor Force Employment Indicators, 1995 and 1996
18 Production Trends in Selected Branches of Heavy Industry, 1992–96
19 Modes of Public Transportation, Selected Years, 1985–92
20 Modes of Transportation of Selected Products, Selected Years, 1985–92
21 Major Import Partners, 1992, 1993, and 1994
22 Major Export Partners, 1992, 1993, and 1994
23 Trade with the United States by Selected Products, 1995 and 1996
24 Presidential Election Second-Round Results by Autonomous Republic, 1996
25 Funding of Government Functions by Jurisdiction, 1994
26 Political Parties and Groups Receiving Highest Vote Count

in State Duma Elections, 1995
27 Major Periodicals, 1995–96
28 Main Directorates of the Armed Forces General Staff, 1994
29 Strategic Nuclear Forces, 1995

Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares ($10{,}000^2$)	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
	1.1	short tons
	2,204	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade)	1.8 and add 32	degrees Fahrenheit

Table 2. Rulers of Muscovy and the Russian Empire, 1462–1917

Period	Ruler
Rurik Dynasty	
1462–1505	Ivan III (the Great)
1505–33	Vasiliy III
1533–84	Ivan IV (the Terrible)
1584–98	Fedor I
Time of Troubles	
1598–1605	Boris Godunov
1605	Fedor II
1605–06	First False Dmitriy
1606–10	Vasiliy Shuyskiy
1610–13	Second False Dmitriy
Romanov Dynasty	
1613–45	Mikhail Romanov
1645–76	Aleksey
1676–82	Fedor III
1682–89	Sofia (regent)
1682–96	Ivan V (co-tsar)
1682–1725	Peter I (the Great)
1725–27	Catherine I
1727–30	Peter II
1730–40	Anna
1740–41	Ivan VI
1741–62	Elizabeth
1762	Peter III
1762–96	Catherine II (the Great)
1796–1801	Paul I
1801–25	Alexander I
1825–55	Nicholas I
1855–81	Alexander II
1881–94	Alexander III
1894–1917	Nicholas II

Source: Based on information from Marc Raeff, "History of Russia/Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," *Academic American Encyclopedia*, 16, Danbury, Connecticut, 1986, 358.

Table 3. Populated Places in European Russia Irradiated by Chernobyl' and Other Industrial Accidents[1]

Jurisdiction	Populated Places by Degree of Irradiation[2]			Total
	0–1	1–5	5–15	
Belgorod Oblast	318	232	0	550
Bryansk Oblast[3]	1,183	479	264	1,926
Kaluga Oblast	262	281	69	612
Kursk Oblast	915	201	0	1,116
Leningrad Oblast	68	87	0	155
Lipetsk Oblast	123	92	0	215
Moscow Oblast	9	0	0	9
Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast	137	0	0	137
Orel Oblast	683	876	15	1,574
Penza Oblast	57	23	0	80
Republic of Bashkortostan	16	0	0	16
Republic of Chuvashia	34	0	0	34
Republic of Mari El	25	0	0	25
Republic of Mordovia	290	48	0	338
Rostov Oblast	2	0	0	2
Ryazan' Oblast	246	293	0	539
Smolensk Oblast	89	0	0	89
Tambov Oblast	116	7	0	123
Tula Oblast	1,072	1,150	144	2,366
Ul'yanovsk Oblast	101	8	0	109
Volgograd Oblast	2	3	0	5
Voronezh Oblast	758	214	0	972
TOTAL	6,506	3,994	492	10,992

[1] Includes results of 1986 accident at Chernobyl' Nuclear Power Station in Ukraine and three nuclear accidents at Mayak nuclear weapons plant in Chelyabinsk.
[2] In curies per square kilometer.
[3] Bryansk Oblast also has ninety-three populated places with more than fifteen curies per square kilometer.

Source: Based on information from Russia, Committee on Land Resources and Utilization, *Zemlya Rossii 1995: Problemy, tsifry, kommentarii*, Moscow, 1996, 35–36.

Table 4. Area, Population, and Capitals of the Soviet Republics, 1989 Census

Republic	Area of Republic[1] (in square kilometers)	Population of Republic[1]	Capital	Population of Capital[2]
Russia	17,075,400	145,311,000	Moscow	8,815,000
Kazakstan	2,717,300	16,244,000	Alma-Ata	1,108,000
Ukraine	603,700	51,201,000	Kiev	2,544,000
Turkmenistan	488,100	3,361,000	Ashkhabad	382,000
Uzbekistan	447,400	19,026,000	Tashkent	2,124,000
Belorussia	207,600	10,078,000	Minsk	1,543,000
Kyrgyzstan	198,500	4,143,000	Frunze	632,000
Tajikistan	143,100	4,807,000	Dushanbe	582,000
Azerbaijan	86,600	6,811,000	Baku	1,115,000
Georgia	69,700	5,266,000	Tbilisi	1,194,000
Lithuania	65,200	3,641,000	Vilnius	566,000
Latvia	64,500	2,647,000	Riga	900,000
Estonia	45,100	1,556,000	Tallin	478,000
Moldavia	33,700	4,185,000	Kishinev	663,000
Armenia	29,800	3,412,000	Yerevan	1,168,000
TOTAL	22,403,000[3]	286,717,000[4]		24,008,000

[1] Estimated.
[2] Estimated. Each republic's capital is also the largest city in the republic.
[3] Includes the area of the White Sea and the Sea of Azov.
[4] Soviet citizens outside the Soviet Union are included.

Source: Based on information from *Izvestiya* [Moscow], April 29, 1989, 1–2.

Table 5. Largest Nature Reserves and National Parks, 1992

Name and Location	Year Established	Area[1]	Number of Protected Species		
			Animals	Birds	Plants
Putoran Reserve, Krasnoyarsk Territory	1988	1,887	38	142	650
Ust'-Lena Reserve, Republic of Sakha	1986	1,433	32	99	523
Taymyr Reserve, Krasnoyarsk Territory	1979	1,349	16	85	714
Tunka Park, Republic of Buryatia	1991	1,184	47	200	100
Kronotskiy Reserve, Kamchatka Oblast	1967	1,142	42	217	810
Central Siberian Reserve, Krasnoyarsk Territory	1931	972	45	241	545
Magadan Reserve, Magaden Oblast	1982	884	46	135	300
Altay Reserve, Republic of Gorno-Altay	1932	881	67	320	1,454
Dzhugdzhur Reserve, Khabarovsk Territory	1990	860	29	69	480
Olekminsk Reserve, Republic of Sakha	1984	847	40	180	450
Wrangel Island Reserve, Magadan Oblast	1976	796	15	151	438
Pechero-Il'ich Reserve, Republic of Komi	1930	722	46	215	702
Baikal-Lena Reserve, Irkutsk Oblast	1986	660	48	171	679
Verkhnetazov Reserve, Tyumen' Oblast	1986	631	25	55	291
Yugan Reserve, Tyumen' Oblast	1982	623	24	180	739

[1] In thousands of hectares.

Source: Based on information from *Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh*, Moscow, 1994, 95–96.

Table 6. Per Capita Annual Consumption of Selected Foods, 1991–94
(in kilograms unless otherwise specified)

Food	1991	1992	1993	1994
Meat and meat products	63	55	54	53
Milk and milk products	347	281	294	278
Eggs (units)	288	263	250	234
Fish and fish products	16	12	12	10
Sugar and confections	38	30	31	31
Vegetables	86	77	71	65
Fruits	35	32	29	n.a.[1]
Potatoes	112	118	127	122

[1] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *OECD Economic Surveys: The Russian Federation 1995*, Paris, 1995, 124.

Table 7. Population by Age and Sex, 1992

Age-Group	Males	Females	Total
0–1	861,576	818,432	1,680,008
1–4	4,351,791	4,159,567	8,511,358
5–9	6,168,816	5,957,872	12,126,688
10–14	5,578,416	5,418,283	10,996,699
15–19	5,274,609	5,142,603	10,417,212
20–24	4,960,535	4,648,853	9,609,388
25–29	5,274,783	5,146,580	10,421,363
30–34	6,498,819	6,414,389	12,913,208
35–39	6,172,658	6,217,575	12,390,233
40–44	5,403,038	5,563,779	10,966,817
45–49	2,839,814	3,041,791	5,881,605
50–54	4,518,016	5,270,041	9,788,057
55–59	3,576,791	4,410,415	7,987,206
60–64	3,580,852	4,957,475	8,538,327
65–69	2,194,867	4,362,140	6,557,007
70–74	966,641	2,476,577	3,443,218
75–79	727,427	2,254,410	2,981,837
80–84	432,457	1,602,017	2,034,474
85 and over	180,568	884,901	1,065,469
TOTAL	69,562,474	78,747,700	148,310,174

Source: Based on information from United Nations, Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, *Demographic Yearbook, 1993*, New York, 1995, 214–15.

Table 8. Major Ethnic Groups, Selected Years, 1959–89
(in thousands of people)

Ethnic Group	1959	1970	1979	1989
Russians	97,863	107,748	113,522	119,866
Tatars	4,075	4,758	5,011	5,522
Ukrainians	3,359	3,346	3,658	4,368
Chuvash	1,436	1,637	1,690	1,774
Dagestanis[1]	797	1,152	1,402	1,749
Bashkirs	954	1,181	1,291	1,345
Belorussians	844	964	1,052	1,206
Mordovians	1,211	1,177	1,111	1,074
Chechens	261	572	712	899
Germans	820	762	791	842
Udmurts	616	678	686	715
Mari	498	581	600	644
Kazaks	383	478	518	636
Jews	875	808	701	537
Armenians	256	299	365	532
Buryats	252	313	350	417
Ossetians	248	313	352	402
Kabardins	201	277	319	386
Yakuts	233	295	327	380
Komi	283	315	320	336
Azerbaijanis	71	96	152	336
Ingush	56	137	166	215
Tuvinians	100	139	165	206
Moldavians	62	88	102	173
Kalmyks	101	131	140	166
Roma	72	98	121	153
Karachay	71	107	126	150
Georgians	58	69	89	131
Karelians	164	141	133	125
Adyghs	79	98	107	128
Khakass	56	65	69	79
Balkars	35	53	59	69
Altays	45	55	59	69
Cherkess	29	38	45	51

[1] Category based on about thirty nationalities.

Source: Based on information from *Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh*, Moscow, 1994, 110.

Table 9. Ethnic Composition of Autonomous Republics, 1989 (in percentages)

Republic	Russians	Titular Nationality		Other Major Group	
Adygea	68	Adyghs	22	Ukrainians	3
Bashkortostan	39	Bashkirs	22	Tatars	28
Buryatia	70	Buryats	24	—[1]	
Chechnya and Ingushetia[2]	23	Chechens	58	—	
		Ingush	13	—	
Chuvashia	27	Chuvash	68	Tatars	3
Dagestan	9	Dagestanis[3]	80	Azerbaijanis	4
Gorno-Altay (Altay)	60	Altays	31	—	
Kabardino-Balkaria	32	Kabardins	48	—	
		Balkars	9	—	
Kalmykia	38	Kalmyks	45	Dagestanis	6
Karachayevo-Cherkessia	42	Karachay	31	—	
		Cherkess	10	—	
Karelia	74	Karelians	10	Belorussians	7
Khakassia	80	Khakass	11	—	
Komi	58	Komi	23	—	
Mari El	48	Mari	45	Tatars	6
Mordovia	61	Mordovians	33	Tatars	5
North Ossetia (Alania)	30	Ossetians	53	Ingush	5
Sakha (Yakutia)	50	Yakuts	33	Ukrainians	7
Tatarstan	43	Tatars	49	Chuvash	4
Tyva (Tuva)	32	Tuvinians	64	—	
Udmurtia	59	Udmurts	31	Tatars	7

[1] —indicates no other major group present.
[2] Republics of Chechnya and Ingushetia were united until 1992.
[3] Category includes about thirty nationalities.

Table 10. Ethnically Designated Jurisdictions, 1996

Jurisdiction	Area[1]	Capital	Population[2]
Republics			
Adygea	7,600	Maykop	450,400
Bashkortostan	143,600	Ufa	4,000,000
Buryatia	351,300	Ulan-Ude	1,050,000
Chechnya (Chechnya-Ichkeria)	19,300	Groznyy	n.a.[3]
Chuvashia	18,000	Cheboksary	1,361,000
Dagestan	50,300	Makhachkala	2,067,000
Gorno-Altay	92,600	Gorno-Altaysk	200,000
Ingushetia	19,300	Nazran	254,100
Kabardino-Balkaria	12,500	Nalchik	800,000
Kalmykia	75,900	Elista	350,000
Karachayevo-Cherkessia	14,100	Cherkessk	422,000
Karelia	172,400	Petrozavodsk	800,000
Khakassia	61,900	Abakan	600,000
Komi	415,900	Syktyvkar	1,227,900
Mari El	23,300	Yoshkar Ola	754,000
Mordovia	26,200	Saransk	964,000
North Ossetia	8,000	Vladikavkaz	660,000
Sakha	3,100,000	Yakutsk	1,077,000
Tatarstan	68,000	Kazan'	3,800,000
Tyva	170,500	Kyzyl	314,000
Udmurtia	42,100	Izhevsk	1,500,000
Autonomous oblast			
Birobidzhan (Yevreyskaya autonomnaya oblast')	36,000	Birobidzhan	218,000
Autonomous regions (*okruga*)			
Aga Buryat	19,000	Aga	77,000
Chukchi	737,700	Anadyr	156,000
Evenk	767,600	Tura	25,000
Khanty-Mansi	523,100	Khanty-Mansiysk	1,301,000
Koryak	301,500	Palana	39,000
Nenets	176,700	Naryan-Mar	55,000
Permyak	32,900	Kudymkar	160,000
Taymyr (Dolgan-Nenets)	862,100	Dudinka	55,000
Ust'-Orda Buryat	22,400	Ust'-Ordynskiy	137,000
Yamalo-Nenets	750,300	Salekhard	495,000

[1] In square kilometers.
[2] 1995 estimates for all republics except Karachayevo-Cherkessia (1990) and Buryatia, Karelia, Komi, and Sakha (1994); 1990 estimates for autonomous oblast and all autonomous regions.
[3] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from *Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States 1997*, London, 1996, 666–76, 691–94.

Table 11. Indicators of Living Standards, 1991–94

Indicator	1991	1992	1993	1994
Life expectancy, males (in years)	63.5	62.0	58.9	57.3
Life expectancy, females (in years)	74.3	73.8	71.9	71.1
Daily caloric intake	2,527	2,438	2,552	2,427
Percentage of consumer expenditure on food	38.4	47.1	46.3	46.8
Automobiles per 1,000 persons	63.5	68.5	75.7	84.4
Telephones per 1,000 persons	164.0	167.0	172.0	176.0

Source: Based on information from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *OECD Economic Surveys: The Russian Federation 1995*, Paris, 1995, 123.

Table 12. Students in Primary and Secondary Schools, Selected Years, 1986–93
(in millions of students)

	1986	1991	1992	1993
Grades 1 to 4				
Urban	4.6	5.3	5.3	5.3
Rural	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.5
Total grades 1 to 4	6.6	7.6	7.7	7.8
Grades 5 to 9				
Urban	7.0	7.5	7.5	7.5
Rural	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.9
Total grades 5 to 9	9.8	10.3	10.3	10.4
Grades 10 to 11 (or 12)				
Urban	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.3
Rural	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.6
Total grades 10 to 11 (or 12)	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.9
Schools for the mentally or physically handicapped	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
TOTAL	18.6	20.3	20.4	20.5

Source: Based on information from *Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh*, Moscow, 1994, 557.

Table 13. Education Statistics for the Autonomous Republics, 1994

Republic	Number of General Schools	Number of General School Students	Vocational Schools	Higher Schools
Adygea	169	63,500	10	1
Bashkortostan	3,264	606,300	157	9
Buryatia	602	190,600	44	4
Chechnya and Ingushetia[1]	554	250,700	22	3
Chuvashia	715	210,100	35	3
Dagestan	1,589	395,000	29	5
Gorno-Altay	135	36,700	4	1
Kabardino-Balkaria	249	131,300	19	3
Kalmykia	250	56,300	12	1
Karachayevo-Cherkessia	186	71,600	8	2
Karelia	336	116,400	21	3
Khakassia	281	93,900	12	1
Komi	591	196,200	12	1
Mari El	435	120,500	34	3
Mordovia	823	132,800	42	2
North Ossetia	210	105,900	17	4
Sakha	711	197,900	33	2
Tatarstan	2,422	525,100	118	15
Tyva	163	61,200	11	1
Udmurtia	882	252,700	45	5

[1] Combined figures for Chechnya and Ingushetia.

Source: Based on information from Russian Business Agency et al., *Russia 1994–95: Business, Social, Economic Analytic Profile*, 2 and 3, Moscow, 1994.

Table 14. Incidence of Selected Diseases, 1990–94
(rate per 1,000 persons)

Disease	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Infectious diseases	34.9	33.4	34.9	38.6	44.2
Cancer	5.5	5.8	5.9	6.1	6.5
Endocrinological diseases	3.6	4.0	4.2	4.5	5.2
Blood diseases	1.3	1.6	1.9	2.2	2.4
Diseases of the nervous system	45.8	47.6	50.6	54.3	56.5
Circulatory diseases	11.2	11.0	11.5	11.8	12.9
Respiratory diseases	336.2	351.9	289.7	309.2	283.2
Diseases of the digestive organs	27.2	28.6	31.2	32.3	33.2
Diseases of the urinary tract	19.6	20.1	22.3	24.1	26.9
Skin diseases	35.0	35.0	35.7	39.9	45.6
Bone and muscle diseases	24.8	25.5	25.6	25.9	26.9

Source: Based on information from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *OECD Economic Surveys: The Russian Federation 1995*, Paris, 1995, 129.

Table 15. Land Utilization, 1993 and 1994
(in millions of hectares)

	1993	1994
Agricultural (enterprise and individual ownership)	656.6	667.7
Under municipal or village jurisdiction	38.0	38.6
Designated for industry, transportation, or other nonagricultural purpose	17.8	17.6
Protected lands	26.7	27.3
Owned by timber companies	843.3	838.6
Water resources	19.0	19.4
Lands held in reserve	108.3	100.6
TOTAL	1,709.7	1,709.8

Source: Based on information from Russia, Committee on Land Resources and Utilization, *Zemlya Rossii: Problemy, tsifry, kommentarii, 1995*, Moscow, 1996, 5.

Table 16. Revenue Sources of Subnational Jurisdictions, 1992, 1993, and 1994
(in millions of United States dollars)[1]

Source	1992	1993	1994
Transfers from national and other government levels	1,419	4,686	7,345
Percentage of total transfers	(86.0)	(99.0)	(98.0)
Profit taxes	4,150	12,110	10,560
Percentage of total profit taxes	(58.5)	(67.4)	(64.9)
Value-added taxes (VAT)	2,290	4,309	5,023
Percentage of total VAT	(24.9)	(35.7)	(35.0)
Excise taxes	500	941	990
Percentage of total excise taxes	(52.5)	(49.4)	(40.0)
Sales taxes	21	n.a.[2]	n.a.
Percentage of total sales taxes	(100.0)	(n.a.)	(n.a.)
Personal income taxes	1,943	4,700	5,799
Percentage of total personal income taxes	(100.0)	(100.0)	(99.3)
Property taxes	247	585	1,611
Percentage of total property taxes	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)
Foreign economic activity	36	97	58
Percentage of total foreign economic activity	(2.1)	(4.5)	(0.8)
Natural resource use payments	496	639	681
Percentage of total natural resource use payments	(100.0)	(70.6)	(84.3)
Land taxes	243	293	517
Percentage of total land taxes	(76.1)	(86.8)	(93.3)
Government duties	n.a.	109	60
Percentage of total government duties	(n.a.)	(71.5)	(61.7)
Privatization revenues	196	271	n.a.
Percentage of total privatization revenues	(69.7)	(79.2)	(84.5)
Other tax and nontax revenue	392	187	n.a.
Percentage of total other revenue	(n.a.)	(n.a.)	(n.a.)
TOTAL[3]	11,887	30,722	36,619

[1] Exchange rate used in calculations: 1992, 222 rubles per US$1; 1993, 933 rubles per US$1; 1994, 3,000 rubles per US$1.
[2] n.a.—not available.
[3] Figures do not add to totals because of "n.a." figures.

Source: Based on information from World Bank, *Russian Federation: Toward Medium-Term Viability*, Washington, 1996, 44.

Table 17. Labor Force Employment Indicators, 1995 and 1996
(in percentage of workforce unless otherwise indicated)

Date	Unemployment[1]	Underemployment		Vacancies
		Short-Time	On administrative leave	(in thousands)
1995				
January	7.3	2.8	1.6	311
February	7.4	2.9	1.5	316
March	7.5	3.1	1.7	329
April	7.7	2.8	1.4	368
May	7.7	2.6	1.6	405
June	7.7	2.7	1.3	445
July	7.8	2.5	1.3	454
August	7.8	2.5	1.3	460
September	7.9	2.6	1.3	446
October	8.1	2.5	1.3	404
November	8.1	2.7	1.1	352
December	8.2	n.a.[2]	n.a.	309
1996				
January	8.3	n.a.	n.a.	294
February	8.4	n.a.	n.a.	287
March	8.5	n.a.	n.a.	286

[1] As estimated by United Nations International Labour Organisation.
[2] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: Russia, 2d Quarter 1996*, London, 1996, 27.

Table 18. Production Trends in Selected Branches of Heavy Industry, 1992–96
(January 1990=100)

Date	All Industry	Ferrous Metallurgy	Chemical and Petrochemical	Machine Building and Metalworking
1992				
January	81	73	80	81
July	70	65	69	75
1993				
January	70	66	67	79
July	62	58	58	66
1994				
January	51	47	40	37
July	50	52	41	37
1995				
January	50	54	49	37
July	50	55	48	34
1996				
January	46	53	44	31
April	45	54	43	32

Source: Based on information from Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia Economic Review*, September 3, 1996, 50.

Table 19. Modes of Public Transportation, Selected Years, 1985–92
(in millions of passengers)

Mode	1985	1990	1991	1992
International				
Bus	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.5
Air	3.4	4.4	3.6	3.5
Boat	n.a.[1]	n.a.	0.1	0.2
Intercity				
Bus	702	705	790	520
Railroad	236	261	274	245
Air	69.9	86.4	82.4	59.1
Inland waterway	20.8	20.6	17.1	7.9
Suburban				
Bus	5,498	5,052	5,153	4,531
Railroad	2,799	2,882	2,421	2,127
Inland waterway	30.5	26.5	36.8	21.2
Municipal				
Bus	19,818	22,869	21,359	19,739
Taxi	680	557	526	266
Trolley	5,314	6,020	8,005	8,619
Tramway	5,997	6,000	7,619	8,071
Subway	3,319	3,659	3,229	3,567

[1] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from *Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh*, Moscow, 1994, 481.

Table 20. Modes of Transportation of Selected Products, Selected Years, 1985–92
(in millions of tons)

Product and Mode	1985	1990	1991	1992
Coal				
Railroad	371.6	387.4	341.0	321.4
Inland waterway	16.8	14.6	12.7	10.8
Truck	22.0	23.3	n.a.[1]	n.a.
Sea	9.8	16.2	11.7	10.4
Coke				
Railroad	16.0	12.2	10.1	10.9
Truck	0.1	0.1	0	0
Petroleum products				
Railroad	265.9	246.7	234.9	212.0
Inland waterway	38.8	33.0	31.0	20.5
Truck	27.4	28.3	n.a.	n.a
Sea	51.3	53.4	33.9	38.3
Iron and manganese ore				
Railroad	110.3	113.0	96.4	89.8
Inland waterway	3.1	2.3	1.4	1.1
Truck	1.4	4.5	n.a.	n.a.
Sea	3.7	4.1	2.4	2.8
Ferrous metals				
Railroad	158.0	142.1	118.6	94.5
Inland waterway	3.4	2.5	2.5	2.1
Truck	n.a.	30.8	n.a.	n.a.
Sea	0	3.0	2.2	3.1
Chemical and mineral fertilizers				
Railroad	79.6	76.4	69.1	51.7
Inland waterway	4.4	5.0	4.2	3.6
Truck	5.5	3.7	n.a.	n.a.
Sea	4.3	2.8	1.3	1.3
Timber				
Railroad	137.5	131.7	116.3	97.2
Inland waterway	67.5	49.7	37.5	27.5
Truck	19.7	15.0	n.a.	n.a.
Sea	13.2	11.3	7.1	4.7
Grains				
Railroad	79.3	81.5	69.9	63.2
Inland waterway	5.6	5.9	5.3	6.3
Trucks	59.6	60.5	n.a.	n.a.

[1] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from *Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh*, Moscow, 1994, 479.

Table 21. Major Import Partners, 1992, 1993, and 1994
(in millions of United States dollars)

Country	1992	1993	1994
Germany	6,725	5,142	5,597
Ukraine	n.a.[1]	n.a.	4,473
Belarus	n.a.	n.a.	2,088
United States	2,885	2,304	2,053
Kazakstan	n.a.	n.a.	2,016
Finland	1,223	724	1,618
Netherlands	368	431	1,603
Italy	3,052	1,106	1,510
Japan	1,680	1,367	1,004
Poland	1,230	529	1,001

[1] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: Russia, 2d Quarter 1996*, London, 1996, 35.

Table 22. Major Export Partners, 1992, 1993, and 1994
(in millions of United States dollars)

Country	1992	1993	1994
Ukraine	n.a.[1]	n.a.	6,602
Germany	5,873	5,074	5,296
Switzerland	865	1,726	3,748
United States	694	1,998	3,694
Britain	2,287	3,353	3,640
Belarus	n.a.	n.a.	3,112
China	2,737	3,068	2,833
Italy	2,951	2,629	2,729
Netherlands	2,277	979	2,389
Kazakstan	n.a.	n.a.	2,288
Japan	1,569	2,005	2,165
Finland	1,564	1,364	2,028

[1] n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Economist Intelligence Unit, *Country Report: Russia, 2d Quarter 1996*, London, 1996, 35.

Table 23. Trade with the United States by Selected Products, 1995 and 1996
(in thousands of United States dollars)

Product	1995	1996
Exports		
Unwrought aluminum	782,865	588,247
Precious metals and related items	425,348	533,856
Milled steel products	462,252	461,297
Base metals and chemicals	411,749	397,519
Uranium and plutonium	277,010	228,484
Fertilizers	208,080	169,609
Frozen fish	58,869	90,755
Petroleum products	52,129	81,686
Crude petroleum	68,055	79,698
Shellfish	73,015	77,166
Ferroalloys	132,250	74,168
Inorganic chemicals	70,282	62,897
Other	1,097,975	682,437
Total exports	4,019,879	3,527,819
Imports		
Poultry	606,622	912,705
Cigarettes	69,874	360,792
Construction and mining equipment	191,755	174,395
Miscellaneous animals and meats	103,902	140,429
Vehicles and vehicle chassis	88,452	95,100
Commercial and pleasure vessels	9,326	93,323
Automatic data processing machines	113,947	92,847
Medical goods	59,488	65,392
Telephone and telegraph equipment	53,538	59,044
Scientific and industrial instruments	37,537	50,579
Cereals	63,289	46,211
Edible preparations	33,471	44,456
Other	1,322,536	1,125,329
Total imports	2,753,737	3,260,602

Source: Based on official statistics of the United States Department of Commerce.

Table 24. Presidential Election Second-Round Results by Autonomous Republic, 1996

Republic	Boris Yeltsin	Gennadiy Zyuganov	Against Both Candidates	Absentee	Voided
Adygea	76,146	133,665	7,575	12,595	118,457
Bashkortostan	1,170,774	990,148	83,484	81,180	535,815
Buryatia	192,933	210,791	16,036	26,454	26,448
Chechnya	275,455	80,877	15,184	33,541	122,438
Chuvashia	205,959	405,129	21,614	27,596	313,864
Dagestan	471,231	401,069	7,423	26,446	249,200
Gorno-Altay	40,026	48,057	3,527	5,805	35,166
Ingushetia	75,768	14,738	3,136	1,973	19,681
Kabardino-Balkaria	259,313	135,287	7,952	16,739	95,083
Kalmykia	103,515	39,354	2,919	14,642	53,731
Karachayevo-Cherkessia	109,747	101,379	5,286	12,510	73,749
Karelia	251,205	100,104	25,025	17,669	96,990
Khakassia	116,729	116,644	11,842	11,030	96,086
Komi	308,250	134,224	31,577	15,955	301,146
Mari El	154,301	199,872	19,628	26,479	171,064
Mordovia	238,441	249,451	16,328	29,106	167,499
North Ossetia	133,748	164,308	7,317	11,630	98,451
Sakha	274,570	126,888	17,293	30,581	62,849
Tatarstan	1,253,121	658,782	74,178	73,109	569,118
Tyva	73,113	37,227	2,423	11,474	33,625
Udmurtia	392,551	302,649	40,302	29,756	279,947
RUSSIA	40,208,384	30,113,306	3,604,550	3,615,336	31,013,641

Source: Based on information from *Rossiyskaya gazeta* [Moscow], July 16, 1996, translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia*, July 31, 1996, 1–3.

Table 25. Funding of Government Functions by Jurisdiction, 1994

Function	Federal	Republic, Oblast, or Territory	*Rayon*
Defense	100 percent, except military housing	—[1]	Military housing
Internal security	100 percent	—	—
Foreign economic relations	100 percent	—	—
Education	All expenses of universities and research institutes	All technical and vocational schools	Wages and maintenance of primary and secondary schools
Health[2]	Medical research institutes	Tertiary, veterans', and specialized hospitals	Secondary hospitals
Public transportation	—	Interjurisdictional highways, air, and railroad facilities (former federal)	Some facilities such as subways
Libraries	Special libraries such as Lenin Library	Special services	Most services
Housing	A portion of construction	A portion of construction	A portion of construction; maintenance
Price subsidies	A portion of food and medicine	—	Fuels, mass transportation, basic foods, and medicines
Welfare payments	A portion	A portion	Program management
Environment	National issues	Regional functions such as forest preservation	—

[1] — no jurisdictional responsibility.
[2] Towns and villages are responsible for paramedical personnel.

Source: Based on information from World Bank, *Russian Federation: Toward Medium-Term Viability*, Washington, 1996, 40–41.

Table 26. Political Parties and Groups Receiving Highest Vote Count in State Duma Elections, 1995

Full Name of Party or Group	National Vote Count
Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF)[1]	15,432,963
Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR)[2]	7,737,431
Our Home Is Russia All-Russian Political Movement (NDR)[3]	7,009,291
Yabloko Public Association	4,767,384
Women of Russia Political Movement	3,188,813
Communist Workers of Russia for the Soviet Union	3,137,406
Congress of Russian Communities Public Political Movement (KRO)[4]	2,980,137
Party of Workers' Self-Government	2,756,954
Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats (DVR-OD)[5]	2,674,084
Agrarian Party of Russia	2,613,127
Derzhava (State Power) Social-Patriotic Movement	1,781,233
Forward, Russia! Public Political Movement	1,343,428
Power to the People!	1,112,873
Republican Party of the Russian Federation (RPRF-Pamfilova-Gurov-Vladimir Lysenko)[6]	1,106,812
Trade Unions and Industrialists of Russia-Union of Labor	1,076,072
Votes against all federal tickets	1,918,151

[1] KPRF—Kommunisticheskaya partiya Rossiyskoy Federatisii.
[2] LDPR—Liberal'no-demokraticheskaya partiya Rossii.
[3] NDR—Nash dom Rossiya.
[4] KRO—Kongress russkikh obshchin.
[5] DVR-OD—Demokraticheskiy vybor Rossii-Ob"yedinennoye dvizheniye.
[6] RPRF—Respublikanskaya partiya Rossiyskoy Federatsii.

Source: Based on information from *Rossiyskaya gazeta* [Moscow], January 24, 1996, translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia: Russia, Results of December 1995 State Duma Elections*, April 24, 1996, 20–21.

Table 27. Major Periodicals, 1995–96

Newspaper	Type	Date Established	Circulation
Argumenty i fakty	Weekly, independent	1992	3,200,000
Izvestiya	Daily, independent since 1991	1917	604,765
Kommersant Daily	Daily, focuses on business, youth	1990	104,400
Komsomol'skaya pravda	Daily, lacks former strong ideology	1925	1,547,000
Krasnaya zvezda	Daily, conservative, mainly military	1924	107,350
Literaturnaya gazeta	Weekly, liberal, cultural coverage	1929	280,000
Megapolis ekspres	Weekly, international, neoconservative	1990	400,000
Moskovskiye novosti	Weekly, independent, antiestablishment	1930	167,367
Moskovskaya pravda	Daily	1918	377,000
Nezavisimaya gazeta	Daily, independent, owned by banker Boris Berezovskiy	1990	50,400
Ogonek	Weekly, independent, owned by banker Boris Berezovskiy	1899	100,000
Pravda	Independent, pro-communist	1912	210,000
Rossiyskaya gazeta	Daily, source of official documents, very pro-government	1990	500,000
Rossiyskiye vesti	Weekly, highest-quality government voice	1991	131,000
Segodnya	Daily, political and business emphasis	1993	100,000
Sovetskaya Rossiya	Daily, communist and nationalist views	1956	250,000
Trud	Daily, trade union paper	1921	800,000

Source: Based on information from Richard F. Staar, *The New Military in Russia: Ten Myths That Shape the Image*, Annapolis, 1996, 229–32; and Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Russia, Pre-Election Survey of Major Russian Media*, December 5, 1995, 9–19.

Table 28. Main Directorates of the Armed Forces General Staff, 1994

Directorate	Function
Armaments	Liaison with military industrial complex
Armor	Staff supervision of maintenance and modernization of combat vehicles
Artillery	Staff supervision of maintenance and modernization of weapons
Billeting and Maintenance	Maintenance and operation of military real estate
Cadres	Management of careers of professional military officers and warrant officers
Construction	Supervision of funding and resources for new military construction
Construction Industry of Ministry of Defense	Supervision of classified construction projects
Education	Education and training of cadres and specialists
Foreign Relations	Direction of foreign assistance programs and military attachés
Intelligence	Successor to Soviet Main Intelligence Directorate (GRU); collection of strategic, technical, and tactical information for armed forces[1]
Military Counterintelligence	Oversight of military security matters
Motor Vehicles	Supervision of maintenance and modernization of wheeled vehicles
Organization-Mobilization	Development and dissemination of mobilization plans for national emergencies
Personnel Work	Successor to Soviet political office, for management of enlisted personnel
Trade	Management of foreign military sales

[1] GRU—Glavnoye razvedyvatel'noye upravleniye.

Source: Based on information from Joint Publications Research Service, *JPRS Report: Central Eurasia Military Affairs: Directory of Military Organizations and Personnel*, Washington, 1994, 32–53.

Table 29. Strategic Nuclear Forces, 1995

Type	Number in Inventory	Description
Submarines		
Typhoon	6	20 Sturgeon SS–N–20 missiles
Delta–IV	7	16 Skiff SS–N–23 missiles each
Delta–III	13	16 Stingray SS–N–18 missiles each
Delta–II	4	16 Sawfly SS–N–8 missiles each
Delta–I	15	12 Sawfly SS–N–8 missiles each
Total	45	684 missiles
Intercontinental ballistic missiles		
SS–17 Spanker (RS–16)	10	All MIRV, all in Russia[1]
SS–18 Satan (RS–20)	222	10 MIRV, 174 in Russia, remainder without warheads in Kazakstan
SS–19 Stiletto (RS–18)	250	6 MIRV, 160 in Russia, 90 in Ukraine
SS–24 Scalpel (RS–22)	92	10 MIRV, 46 in Russia, 46 in Ukraine; in Russia, 10 in silos, 36 on rails
SS–25 Sickle (RS–12M)	354	Mobile, single-warhead, at 10 bases; 336 in Russia, 18 in Belarus

[1] MIRV—multiple-warhead independently targeted reentry vehicle.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1995–1996*, London, 1995, 113–14.

Bibliography

Chapter 1

Auty, Robert, and Dmitry Obolensky, eds. *An Introduction to Russian History, 1: Companion to Russian Studies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Avrich, Paul. *Russian Rebels, 1600–1800.* New York: Schocken, 1972.

Baron, Samuel Haskell. *Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963.

Billington, James H. *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture.* New York: Knopf, 1966.

Blackwell, William L. *The Beginnings of Russian Industrialization, 1800–1860.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Blum, Jerome. *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Cherniavsky, Michael. *Tsar and People: Studies in Russian Myths.* New York: Random House, 1969.

Chew, Allen F. *An Atlas of Russian History: Eleven Centuries of Changing Borders.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Crummey, Robert O. *The Formation of Muscovy, 1304–1613.* London: Longman, 1987.

Curtiss, John Shelton. *The Russian Army under Nicholas I, 1825–1855.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1965.

De Madariagha, Isabel. *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

Dmytryshyn, Basil. *A History of Russia.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1977.

Emmons, Terrance. *The Russian Landed Gentry and the Peasant Emancipation of 1861.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Fedotov, Georgii Petrovich. *The Russian Religious Mind.* 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946–66.

Fennell, John Lister Illingsworth. *Ivan the Great of Moscow.* London: Macmillan, 1961.

Florinsky, Michael T. *Russia: A History and Interpretation.* 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1953.

Gershchenkron, Alexander. *Europe in the Russian Mirror: Four Lectures on Economic History.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Geyer, Dietrich. *Russian Imperialism: The Interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy, 1860–1914.* Trans., Bruce Little. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Grekov, Boris Dmitreevich. *Kievan Rus.* Trans., Y. Sdobnikov. Moscow: Foreign Languages, 1959.

Gurko, Vladimir Iosifovich. *Features and Figures of the Past: Government and Opinion in the Reign of Nicholas II.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1939.

Hittle, J.M. *The Service City: State and Townsmen in Russia, 1600–1800.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Hosking, Geoffrey A. *The Russian Constitutional Experiment: Government and Duma, 1907–1914.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

Hrushevsky, Mykhailo. *A History of the Ukraine.* Trans. and condensed, O.J. Fredericksen. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

Jelavich, Barbara. *A Century of Russian Foreign Policy 1814–1914.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1964.

Keep, John L.H. *The Rise of Social Democracy in Russia.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.

Kliuchevsky, Vasily. *A Course in Russian History, 3: The Seventeenth Century.* Trans., N. Duddington. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Kliuchevsky, Vasily. *A Course in Russian History, 4: Peter the Great.* Trans., Liliana Archibald. New York: Knopf, 1959.

Kliuchevsky, Vasily. *The Course of Russian History.* 5 vols. Trans., C.J. Hogarth. New York: Dutton, 1911–31.

Kohut, Zenon E. *Russian Centralism and Ukrainian Autonomy: Imperial Absorption of the Hetmanate, 1760s–1830s.* Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and Harvard University Press, 1988.

Lang, David Marshall. *A Modern History of Soviet Georgia.* New York: Grove Press, 1962.

Lawrence, John. *A History of Russia.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969.

Liashchenko, P.I. *A History of the National Economy of Russia to the 1917 Revolution.* Trans., L.M. Herman. New York: Macmillan, 1949. Reprint. New York: Octagon, 1970.

Lincoln, Bruce D. *Nicholas I: Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russians.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978.

MacKenzie, David, and Michael W. Curran. *A History of Russia and the Soviet Union.* Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1987.

Malia, Martin Edward. *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism, 1812–1855.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Malozemoff, Andrew. *Russian Far Eastern Policy, 1881–1904.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958. Reprint. New York: Octagon, 1977.

Masaryk, Tomás Garrigue. *The Spirit of Russia: Studies in History, Literature, and Philosophy.* 3 vols. Trans., Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: Macmillan, 1961–67.

Miliukov, Pavel Nikolaevich. *Outlines of Russian Culture.* Ed., Michael Karpovich; trans., Eleanor Davis and Valentine Ughert. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942.

Nichols, Robert L., and Theofanis George Stavrous, eds. *Russian Orthodoxy under the Old Regime.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1978.

Norretranders, Bjarne. *The Shaping of Czardom under Ivan Groznnyi.* Copenhagen: 1964. Reprint. London: Variorum, 1971.

Oberländer, Edwin ed., *Russia Enters the Twentieth Century.* New York: Schocken, 1971.

Orlovsky, Daniel T. *The Limits of Reforms: The Ministry of Internal Affairs in Imperial Russia, 1807–1881.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Pares, Bernard. *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy: A Study of Evidence.* New York: Knopf, 1939.

Pelenski, Jaroslav. *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology, 1438–1560s.* The Hague: Mouton, 1974.

Pierce, Richard A. *Russian Central Asia, 1867–1917: A Study in Colonial Rule.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.

Pintner, Walter McKenzie, and Don Karl Rowney, eds. *Russian Officialdom: The Bureaucratization of Russian Society from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Pipes, Richard. *Russia under the Old Regime.* New York: Scribner's, 1974.

Platonov, Sergei Fedorovich. *The Time of Troubles: A Historical Study of the Internal Crisis and Social Struggle in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Muscovy.* Trans., J.T. Alexander. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1970.

Raeff, Marc. "History of Russia/Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." Page 358 in *Academic American Encyclopedia,* 16. Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier, 1986.

Raeff, Marc. *Michael Speransky: Statesman of Imperial Russia, 1772–1839.* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969.

Raeff, Marc. *Russian Intellectual History: An Anthology.* New York: Humanities Press, 1978.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas. *A History of Russia.* 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Rieber, Alfred J. *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Rieber, Alfred J. *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia, 1825–1855.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959.

Robinson, Geroid Tanquary. *Rural Russia under the Old Regime.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Rogger, Hans. *National Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century Russia.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Rogger, Hans. *Russia in the Age of Modernization and Reform, 1881–1917.* London: Longman, 1987.

Rurad, C.A. *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804–1906.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Schwartz, Solomon H. *The Russian Revolution of 1905: The Workers' Movement and the Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism.* Chicago: University Press, 1967.

Seton-Watson, Hugh. *The Russian Empire, 1801–1917.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.

Smith, Clarence J. *The Russian Struggle for World Power, 1914–1917: A Study of Russian Foreign Policy During World War I.* New York: Philosophical Society, 1946.

Stites, Richard. *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism, 1890–1930.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Subtelny, Orest. *Ukraine: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Sumner, Benedict Humphrey. *Russia and the Balkans, 1870–1880.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1947.

Thaden, Edward C. *Conservative Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Russia.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964.

Thaden, Edward C., ed. *Russification of the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855–1914.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Treadgold, Donald W. *The West in Russia and China: Religious and Secular Thought in Modern Times.* 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

Venturi, Franco. *Roots of Revolution: A History of the Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth-Century Russia.* Trans., Francis Haskill. New York: Knopf, 1960.

Vernadsky, George. *The Mongols and Russia.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

Von Laue, Theodore. *Sergei Witte and the Industrialization of Russia.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.

Walicki, Andrzej. *A History of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to Marxism.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979.

Wortman, Richard. *The Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Zaionchkovsky, Peter Andreevich. *The Russian Autocracy under Alexander III.* Trans., David R. Jones. Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1976.

Zenkovsky, Serge A. *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Chapter 2

Antonov-Ovseyenko, Anton. *The Time of Stalin.* New York: Harper and Row, 1981.

Armstrong, John A. "Nationalism in the Former Soviet Empire," *Problems of Communism,* 41, January–April 1992, 121–35.

Aslund, Anders. *Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reform.* 2d ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Barner-Barry, Carol, and Cynthia A. Hody. *The Politics of Change: The Transformation of the Former Soviet Union.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Bialer, Seweryn. *Stalin's Successors: Leadership, Stability, and Change in the Soviet Union.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Black, Cyril E., ed. *The Transformation of Russian Society.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Blaney, John, and Michael Gfoeller. "Lessons from the Failure of Perestroyka," *Political Science Quarterly,* 108, Fall 1993, 481–96.

Bradley, J.F.N. *Civil War in Russia, 1917–1920.* London: Batsford, 1975.

Brown, Archie. *The Gorbachev Factor in Soviet Politics.* 2d ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Brown, Archie. "The Soviet Succession: From Andropov to Chernenko," *World Today,* 40, April 1984, 134–41.

Brown, Archie, and Michael Kaser, eds. *The Soviet Union since the Fall of Khrushchev.* New York: Macmillan, 1978.

Burant, Stephen R. "The Influence of Russian Tradition on the Political Style of the Soviet Elite," *Political Science Quarterly,* 102, No. 2, Summer 1987, 273–93.

Burdzhalov, E.N. *Russia's Second Revolution: The February 1917 Uprising in Petrograd.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Carrère d'Encausse, Hélène. *The End of the Soviet Empire.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Chamberlin, William H. *The Russian Revolution, 1917–1921.* 2 vols. New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Checkel, Jeffrey. "Gorbachev's 'New Political Thinking' and the Formation of Soviet Foreign Policy," *Radio Liberty Research Report* [Munich], RL 429/88, September 23, 1988.

Cohen, Stephen F. *Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History since 1917.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Conquest, Robert. *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties.* New York: Macmillan, 1968.

Conquest, Robert. *Harvest of Sorrow.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Cook, Linda J. "Brezhnev's 'Social Contract' and Gorbachev's Reforms," *Soviet Studies,* 44, No. 1, 1992, 37–56.

Daniels, Robert V. "The Chernenko Comeback," *New Leader,* 67, February 20, 1984, 3–5.

Daniels, Robert V. *Red October: The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.

Daniels, Robert V. *Russia: The Roots of Confrontation.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Dunlop, John B. *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Empire.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Dyker, David A., ed. *The Soviet Union under Gorbachev: Prospects for Reform.* London: Croom Helm, 1987.

Elliot, Iain. "Andropov Scrutinized," *Survey,* 28, Spring 1984, 61–69.

Evans, Alfred, Jr. "Gorbachev's Unfinished Revolution," *Problems of Communism,* 40, January–April 1991, 133–43.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *The Russian Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Florinsky, Michael T. *The End of the Russian Empire.* New York: Fertig, 1973.

Gelman, Harry. *The Brezhnev Politburo and the Decline of Détente.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.

Goldman, Marshall I. "Economic Problems in the Soviet Union," *Current History,* 82, October 1983, 322–25.

Gorbachev, Mikhail. *The August Coup.* London: Harper Collins, 1991.

Haimson, Leopold H. "The Parties and the State: The Evolution of Political Attitudes." Pages 110–44 in Cyril E. Black, ed., *The Transformation of Russian Society.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Halstead, John. "Chernenko in Office," *International Perspectives,* May–June 1984, 19–21.

Hanson, Philip. *From Stagnation to Catastroika: Commentaries on the Soviet Economy, 1983–1991.* New York: Praeger, 1992.

Hardt, John P., and Donna Gold. "Andropov's Economic Future," *Orbis,* 27, No. 2, Spring 1983, 11–28.

Hasegawa, Tsuyoshi. *The February Revolution: Petrograd, 1917.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981.

Hazan, Baruch. "Infighting in the Kremlin: Andropov vs. Chernenko," *Crossroads,* No. 11, 1984, 55–74.

Heller, Michel. "Andropov: A Retrospective View," *Survey,* 28, Spring 1984, 45–60.

Heller, Mikhail, and Aleksandr Nekrich. *Utopia in Power.* New York: Summit Books, 1986.

Hill, Ronald J., and Jan Ake Dellenbrant, eds. *Gorbachev and Perestroyka.* Aldershot, United Kingdom: Edward Elgar, 1989.

Hosking, Geoffrey A. *The First Socialist Society.* London: Fontana Press/Collins, 1985.

Hough, Jerry. "Andropov's First Year," *Problems of Communism,* 32, November–December 1983, 49–64.

Hough, Jerry. "Soviet Politics under Andropov," *Current History,* 82, October 1983, 330–33.

Hudson, George E., ed. *Soviet National Security Policy under Perestroyka.* Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990.

Kanet, Roger E., Deborah Nutter Miner, and Tamara J. Reslar, eds. *The Soviet Union and International Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Kelley, Donald R. *Soviet Politics from Brezhnev to Gorbachev.* New York: Praeger, 1987.

Khrushchev, Nikita S. *Khrushchev Remembers.* Ed. and trans., Strobe Talbott. Boston: Little, Brown, 1970.

Knight, Amy. "Andropov: Myths and Realities," *Survey,* 28, Spring 1984, 22–44.

Kontorovich, Vladimir. "The Economic Fallacy," *National Interest,* No. 31, Spring 1993.

Kramer, Mark. "Soviet Foreign Policy after the Cold War," *Current History,* 90, October 1991, 317–22.

Lerner, Lawrence W., and Donald W. Treadgold, eds. *Gorbachev and the Soviet Future.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1988.

Lewin, Moshe. *Russian Peasants and Soviet Power.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968.

Linden, Carl A. *Khrushchev and the Soviet Leadership, 1957–1964.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966.

MacKenzie, David, and Michael W. Curran. *A History of Russia and the Soviet Union.* Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1987.

Malia, Martin. *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991.* New York: Free Press, 1994.

McCauley, Martin. *The Soviet Union 1917–1991.* 2d ed. London: Longman, 1993.

Medvedev, Roy A. *Khrushchev.* Garden City, New York: Anchor Press, 1983.

Medvedev, Roy A. *Let History Judge.* New York: Knopf, 1971.

Medvedev, Zhores A. *Andropov.* New York: Norton, 1983.

Meissner, Boris. "Soviet Policy: From Chernenko to Gorbachev," *Aussenpolitik* [Bonn], 36, No. 4, April 1985, 357–75.

Miller, Robert F., John H. Miller, and Thomas Henry Rigby. *Gorbachev at the Helm: A New Era in Soviet Politics?* London: Croom Helm, 1987.

"Moscow, August 1991: The Coup de Grace," *Problems of Communism*, 40, November–December 1991, 1–62.

Nahaylo, Bohdan, and Viktor Swoboda. *Soviet Disunion: A History of the Nationalities Problem in the USSR.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990.

Nichol, James P. *Diplomacy in the Former Soviet Republics.* Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995.

Nichol, James P. *Perestroyka of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.* Amherst: Program in Soviet and East European Studies, University of Massachusetts, 1988.

Nichol, James P. *Stalin's Crimes Against the Non-Russian Nations: The 1987–1990 Revelations and Debate.* Carl Beck Papers, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, December 1991.

Olcott, Martha Brill. "The Slide into Disunion," *Current History*, 90, October 1991, 338–44.

Pares, Bernard. *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy: A Study of Evidence.* New York: Knopf, 1939.

Pipes, Richard. *The Formation of the Soviet Union.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.

Ponton, Geoffrey. *The Soviet Era: Soviet Politics from Lenin to Yeltsin.* Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell, 1994.

Rabinowich, Alexander. *The Bolsheviks Come to Power.* New York: Norton, 1976.

Remington, Thomas. *Building Socialism in Bolshevik Russia.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984.

Remnick, David. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire.* New York: Vintage, 1994.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas. *A History of Russia.* 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Robinson, Neil. "Gorbachev and the Place of the Party in Soviet Reform, 1985–91," *Soviet Studies*, 44, No. 3, 1992, 423–43.

Schapiro, Leonard B. *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union.* New York: Vintage Books, 1960.

Schapiro, Leondard B. *The Russian Revolutions of 1917.* New York: Basic Books, 1984.

Schull, Joseph. "Self-Destruction of Soviet Ideology," *Harriman Institute Forum*, 4, No. 7, July 1991.

Simes, Dmitri. "Gorbachev's Time of Troubles," *Foreign Policy*, No. 102, Spring 1991, 97–117.

Simis, Konstantin. "Andropov's Anticorruption Campaign," *Washington Quarterly*, 6, Summer 1983, 111–21.

Smith, Graham. *The Nationalities Question in the Soviet Union.* London: Longman, 1990.

Tatu, Michel. *Mikhail Gorbachev: The Origins of Perestroyka.* Boulder, Colorado: East European Monographs, 1991.

Teague, Elizabeth, and Vera Tolz. "CPSU R.I.P.," *Report on the USSR*, 3, No. 47, 1991, 1–8.

Treadgold, Donald W. *Twentieth Century Russia.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987.

Tucker, Robert C. *Stalin as Revolutionary, 1879–1929.* New York: Norton, 1977.

Tucker, Robert C., ed. *Stalinism: Essays in Historical Interpretation.* New York: Norton, 1977.

Ulam, Adam B. *Expansion and Coexistence: Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917–1973.* 2d ed. New York: Praeger, 1974.

Ulam, Adam B. *A History of Soviet Russia.* New York: Praeger, 1976.

Ulam, Adam B. "Looking at the Past: The Unraveling of the Soviet Union," *Current History*, 91, October 1992, 339–46.

Ulam, Adam B. *Stalin: The Man and His Era.* New York: Viking Press, 1973.

Urban, Michael E. "From Chernenko to Gorbachev: A Repolitization of Official Soviet Discourse," *Soviet Union/Union Soviétique*, 13, No. 2, 1986, 131–61.

Wallace, William W. *Gorbachev and the Revolution in Soviet Foreign Policy.* Aldershot, United Kingdom: Dartmouth, 1992.

Wessell, Nils H. "Arms Control and 'Active Measures,'" *Orbis*, 27, No. 2, Spring 1983, 5–11.

White, Stephen. *Gorbachev in Power.* 3d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Yeltsin, Boris. *The Struggle for Russia.* New York: Random House, 1994.

Zacek, Jane Shapiro, ed. *The Gorbachev Generation.* New York: Paragon House, 1988.

Zemtsov, Ilya. "Yuriy Andropov: Consolidation of Power," *Crossroads,* No. 11, 1984, 1–17.

Zlotnik, Marc. "Chernenko Succeeds," *Problems of Communism,* 33, March–April 1984, 17–31.

Zlotnik, Marc. "Chernenko's Platform," *Problems of Communism,* 31, November–December 1982, 70–75.

(Various issues of the following periodicals also were used in the preparation of this chapter: *Izvestiya* [Moscow]; and *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin* [Munich]).

Chapter 3

Bellona Foundation. *Sources of Radioactive Contamination in Murmansk and Arkhangelsk Counties.* Oslo: 1994.

Blaney, John W. "Environmental and Health Crises in the Former Soviet Union." Pages 134–42 in John W. Blaney, ed., *The Successor States to the USSR.* Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1995.

Blaney, John W., ed. *The Successor States to the USSR.* Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1995.

Bodrova, Valentina. "Reproductive Behaviour of Russia's Population in the Transition Period," *Berichte des Bundesinstituts für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien* [Cologne], 15, 1995.

Cole, John. *Geography of the USSR.* Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967.

The Europa World Year-Book 1994, 2. London: Europa, 1994.

The Europa World Year-Book 1995, 2. London: Europa, 1995.

Feshbach, Murray. *Ecological Disaster: Cleaning Up the Hidden Legacy of the Soviet Regime.* New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1995.

Feshbach, Murray. *Environmental and Health Atlas of Russia.* Moscow: PAIMS, 1995.

Feshbach, Murray, and Alfred Friendly, Jr. *Ecocide in the USSR: Health and Nature under Siege.* New York: Basic Books, 1992.

Goldman, Marshall I. *Ecology and Economics: Controlling Pollution in the '70s.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972.

Goldman, Marshall I. *The Spoils of Progress: Environmental Pollution in the Soviet Union.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972.

Gundarov, Igor' Alekseevich. *Pochemu umirayut v Rossii, kak nam vyzhit'?* (Why Are People Dying in Russia, and How Are We to Survive?) Moscow: Media sfera, 1995.

Heleniak, Tim. "The Projected Population of Russia in 2005," *Post-Soviet Geography,* 35, No. 10, October 1995, 608–14.

Hooson, David. *The Soviet Union: People and Regions.* Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1968.

Institut gumanitarno-politicheskikh issledovaniy. *Ocherki rossiyskoy politiki* (Essays on Russian Politics). Moscow: 1994.

Israel. Central Bureau of Statistics. *Immigrant Population from Former USSR 1993: Demographic Trends.* Jerusalem: 1995.

Jacobs, Margot. "USSR Faces Mounting Refugee Problem," *Report on the USSR* [Munich], 2, No. 37, September 20, 1990, 14–18.

Jones, Anthony, Walter D. Connor, and David E. Powell, eds. *Soviet Social Problems.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991.

Klatt, Martin. "Russians in the 'Near Abroad,'" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 32, August 19, 1994, 3–44.

Kozlov, Viktor. "Social and Geographical Analysis of the Flow and Territorial Distribution of Refugees and Migrants in Russia." Pages 39–59 in Klaus Segbers and Stephan De Spiegeleire, eds., *Post-Soviet Puzzles: Mapping the Political Economy of the Former Soviet Union.* Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1995.

Kuz'min, A.T. *Sem'ya na Urale: Demograficheskiye aspekty vybora zhiznennogo puti* (The Family in the Urals: Demographic Aspects of Lifestyle Choices). Yekaterinburg: UIF Nauka, 1993.

Loescher, Gil. "Forced Migration Within and from the Former USSR: The Policy Changes Ahead," *Rand DRU–564–FF,* 1993.

Lydolph, Paul E. *Geography of the U.S.S.R.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.

Marnie, Sheila, and Wendy Slater. "Russia's Refugees," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 37, September 17, 1993, 46–53.

Morvant, Penny. "Alarm over Falling Life Expectancy," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 21, October 20, 1995, 40–45.

National Geographic Society. *National Geographic Atlas of the World.* 6th ed. Washington: 1992.

Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh. Moscow: Vsya Moskva, 1994.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. *OECD Economic Surveys: The Russian Federation 1995.* Paris:1995.

Peterson, D.J. *Troubled Lands: The Legacy of Soviet Environmental Destruction.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993.

Pisareva, Vera. "Ekologicheskaya problematika v rossiyskoy politike" (Ecological Problems in Russian Politics). Pages 53–62 in Institut gumanitarno-politicheskikh issledovaniy. *Ocherki rossiyskoy politiki* (Essays on Russian Politics). Moscow: 1994.

Popper, Steven W. "A Note on the Emigration of Russia's Technical Elite," *Rand Reprints,* No. 304, 1994.

Population Reference Bureau. *1995 Population Data Sheet.* Washington: 1995.

"Report on the State of the Environment in the Russian Federation in 1993." Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *JPRS Report: Environmental Issues,* April 17, 1995.

Rowland, Richard H. "Declining Towns in the Former USSR," *Post-Soviet Geography,* 35, No. 6, June 1994, 352–65.

Russia. Committee on Land Resources and Utilization. *Zemlya Rossii 1995: Problemy, tsifry, kommentarii.* Moscow: 1996.

Russia and Eurasia: Facts and Figures Annual 1994. Ed., Theodore W. Karasik. Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1994.

Russian Regions Today: Atlas of the New Federation. Washington: International Center, 1994.

"Russia's Wildlife Faces Grave Danger," *World Wildlife Fund Focus,* 17, No. 5, September–October 1995, 1.

Segbers, Klaus, and Stephan De Spiegeleire, eds. *Post-Soviet Puzzles: Mapping the Political Economy of the Former Soviet Union.* Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1995.

Slater, Wendy. "The Problem of Immigration into Russia," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 26, July 1, 1994, 39–44.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1993-1994. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1994–1995. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1995–1996. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Gosudarstvennyy komitet po statistike. *Demograficheskiy yezegodnik SSSR 1990* (DemographicYearbook of the USSR 1990). Moscow: Finansy i statistika, 1990.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Gosudarstvennyy komitet po statistike. Informatsionno-izdatel'skiy tsentr. *Natsional'nyy sostav naseleniya SSSR* (The National Composition of the Population of the USSR). Moscow: Finansy i statistika, 1990.

United Nations. Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis. *Demographic Yearbook 1993.* New York: 1995.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *USSR: Demographic Trends and Ethnic Balance in the Non-Russian Republics.* Washington: 1990.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1995.* Washington: 1995.

Velkoff, Victoria A., and Kevin Kinsella. *Aging in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union.* Washington: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1993.

Wolfson, Zeyev. *The Geography of Survival.* London: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

World Bank. *Environmental Action Program for Central and Eastern Europe.* Washington: 1993.

World Bank. *Statistical Handbook 1995: States of the Former USSR.* Washington: 1995.

"The Year of Chernobyl: Some Environmental and Social Aspects of the Disaster," *Environmental Policy Review,* 1, No. 6, June 1987, 1–11.

(Various issues of the following periodicals also were used in the preparation of this chapter: *Christian Science Monitor*; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia*; *Izvestiya* [Moscow]; *New York Times*; and *Washington Post.*)

Chapter 4

Akiner, Shirin. *Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union.* 2d ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986.

Bennigsen, Alexandre, Marie Broxup, and S. Enders Wimbush. *Muslims of the Soviet Empire: A Guide.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.

Billington, James H. "The Case for Orthodoxy," *New Republic,* 210, No. 22, May 30, 1994, 24–27.

Billington, James H. *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture.* New York: Knopf, 1966.

Birch, Julian. "Ossetia: A Caucasian Bosnia in Microcosm," *Central Asian Survey,* 14, No. 1, 1995, 43–74.

Bourdeaux, Michael. "Glasnost and the Gospel: The Emergence of Religious Pluralism." Pages 113–28 in Michael Bourdeaux, ed., *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.

Bourdeaux, Michael, ed. *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.

Brown, Edward J. *Russian Literature since the Revolution.* 2d ed. London: Collier-Macmillan, 1969.

Bruk, Solomon Il'ich. *Ethnodemographic Processes: The World Population at the Threshold of the 21st Century.* Moscow: Nauka, 1986.

Buttino, Marco. *In a Collapsing Empire: Underdevelopment, Ethnic Conflicts, and Nationalism in the Soviet Union.* Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 1993.

Chaplin, Vsevolod. "The Church and Politics in Contemporary Russia." Pages 95–112 in Michael Bourdeaux, ed., *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.

Chinyaeva, Elena. "The Fate of Soviet Mass Culture in Russia," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 6, March 22, 1996, 22–25.

Chinyaeva, Elena. "Russian Orthodox Church Forges a New Role," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 7, April 5, 1996, 10–15.

Dannreuther, Roland. "Creating New States in Central Asia," *Adelphi Papers,* No. 288, March 1994.

Dawisha, Karen, and Bruce Parrott. *Russia and the New States of Eurasia: The Politics of Upheaval.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Dunlop, John B. "The Russian Orthodox Church as an 'Empire-Saving' Institution." Pages 15–40 in Michael Bourdeaux, ed., *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.

Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States 1997. London: Europa, 1996.

Fuller, Elizabeth. "Chechen Politics: A Murky Prospect, *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 6, March 15, 1995, 11–13.

Gibson, James L. "Understandings of Anti-Semitism in Russia: An Analysis of the Politics of Anti-Jewish Attitudes, *Slavic Review*, 53, No. 3, Fall 1994, 796–835.

Griffiths, Stephen Iwan. "Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: Threats to European Security," *SIPRI Research Reports* [Stockholm], No. 5, 1993.

Gulevsky, Alexander, and Yuri Simchenko. *Administrative Units of Peoples of the Russian North: Economy and Social Development in the Last Decade of the 20th Century.* Moscow: Rossiyskaya akademiya nauk, Institut etnologii i antropologii, 1994.

Guroff, Gregory, and Alexander Guroff. "The Paradox of Russian National Identity." Pages 78–100 in Roman Szporluk, ed., *National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Hanbury-Tennison, Robin. "Native Peoples of Russia's Far East," *Asian Affairs*, 25, June 1994, 131–38.

Harris, Chauncey D. "The New Russian Minorities: A Statistical Overview," *Post-Soviet Geography*, 34, No. 1, January 1994, 1–27.

Heleniak, Tim. "The Projected Population of Russia in 2005," *Post-Soviet Geography*, 35, No. 10, October 1995, 608–14.

Henze, Paul B. "Ethnic Dynamics and Dilemmas of the Russian Republic," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 17, January–March 1994, 61–86.

Hughes, Robert P., and Irina Paperno, eds. *Russian Culture in Modern Times.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Israel. Central Bureau of Statistics. *Immigrant Population from Former USSR 1993: Demographic Trends.* Jerusalem: 1995.

Kaiser, Robert J. "Ethnoterritorial Conflict in the Former Soviet Union." Pages 59–73 in United States, Central Intelligence Agency, *The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict to National and International Order in the 1990s: Geographic Perspectives.* Washington: 1995.

Kaiser, Robert J. *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Katz, Zev, ed. *Handbook of Major Soviet Nationalities.* New York: Free Press, 1975.

Kolosov, Vladimir Aleksandrovich. *Ethno-Territorial Conflicts and Boundaries in the Former Soviet Union.* Durham, United Kingdom: University of Durham, 1992.

Krag, Helen, and Lars Funch. *The North Caucasus: Minorities at a Crossroads.* Brixton, United Kingdom: Minority Rights Group, 1994.

Lemon, Alaina. "In Russia, a Community Divided," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 7, March 29, 1995, 12–18.

Mickiewicz, Ellen. "Ethnic Differentiation and Political Communication." Pages 24–38 in Anthony Jones, Walter D. Connor, and David E. Powell, eds., *Soviet Social Problems.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1991.

Nahaylo, Bohdan, and Viktor Swoboda. *Soviet Disunion: A History of the Nationalities Problem in the USSR.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1990.

Neroznak, V.P., ed. *Krasnaya kniga yazykov narodov Rossii: Entsiklopedicheskiy slovar'-spravochnik* (The Red Book of Languages of the Peoples of Russia: An Encyclopedic Dictionary and Directory). Moscow: Akademiya, 1994.

Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh. Moscow: Vsya Moskva, 1994.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. *OECD Economic Surveys: The Russian Federation 1995.* Paris: 1995.

Pospielovskiy, Dimitry V. "The Russian Orthodox Church in the Postcommunist CIS." Pages 41–74 in Michael Bourdeaux, ed., *The Politics of Religion in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.

Russia and Eurasia: Facts and Figures Annual 1994. Ed., Theodore W. Karasik. Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1994.

"Russia and Islam: Is Russia Threatened by Islamic Resurgence?" *Central Asia Brief* [Markfield, United Kingdom], 11, No. 3, March 1995, 11–14.

"Russian Aggression Strengthens Muslim Identity in Chechnya," *Central Asia Brief* [Markfield, United Kingdom], 11, No. 3, March 1995, 3–9.

Russian Regions Today: Atlas of the New Federation. Washington: International Center, 1994.

Ryan, Michael, comp. *Social Trends in Contemporary Russia: A Statistical Source Book.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Saikal, Amin, and William Maley, eds. *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Sakwa, Richard. *Russian Politics and Society.* New York: Routledge, 1993.

Sawczak, Peter. "Reconstruction, Deconstruction, and the Restoration of Literature in Russia." Pages 178–89 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Segel, Harold B., ed. *The Literature of Eighteenth-Century Russia: A History and Anthology.* New York: E.P. Dutton, 1967.

Serebriany, Sergei. "Culture in Russia and Russian Culture." Pages 158–77 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Slonim, Marc. *The Epic of Russian Literature from Its Roots Through Tolstoy.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Smeets, Rieks. "Circassia," *Central Asian Survey,* 14, No. 1, 1995, 107–25.

Szporluk, Roman, ed. *National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Teague, Elizabeth. "Center-Periphery Relations in the Russian Federation." Pages 21–57 in Roman Szporluk, ed., *National Identity and Ethnicity in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Teague, Elizabeth. "Russia and Tatarstan Sign Power-Sharing Treaty," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 14, April 8, 1994, 19–27.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Gosudarstvennyy komitet po statistike. *Natsional'nyy sostav naseleniya SSSR* (The National Composition of the Population of the USSR). Moscow: Finansy i statistika, 1990.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict to National and International Order in the 1990s: Geographic Perspectives.* Washington: 1995.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *USSR: Demographic Trends and Ethnic Balance in the Non-Russian Republics.* Washington: 1990.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1995.* Washington: 1995.

World Bank. *Statistical Handbook 1994: States of the Former USSR.* Washington: 1995.

Zenkovsky, Serge A., ed. *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales.* New York: E.P. Dutton, 1963.

Zhukovskaya, Natalya L. "Religion and Ethnicity in Eastern Russia, Republic of Buryatiya: A Panorama of the 1990s, *Central Asian Survey,* 14, No. 1, 1995, 25–42.

Chapter 5

Acton, Edward. *Russia: The Tsarist and Soviet Legacy.* 2d ed. London: Longman, 1995.

Balzer, Harley. "Plans to Reform Russian Higher Education." Pages 27–46 in Anthony Jones, ed., *Education and Society in the New Russia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993.

Belyanko, O.Ye., and L.B. Trushina. *Russkiye s pervogo vzglyada: chto prinyato i chto ne prinyato u russkikh* (The Russians at First Glance: What Is Acceptable and Not Acceptable for the Russians). Moscow: Russkiy yazyk kursy, 1994.

Bodrova, Valentina. "Reproductive Behaviour of Russia's Population in the Transition Period," *Berichte des Bundesinstituts für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien* [Cologne], 15, 1995.

Bodrova, Valentina. "The Russian Family in Flux, *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 16, September 8, 1995, 10–11.

Bremer, Ian, and Ray Taras, eds. *Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Buckley, Mary. *Redefining Russian Society and Polity.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1993.

Center for International Health Information. *Russia: USAID Health Profile.* Arlington, Virginia: 1992.

Davis, Christopher M. "Health Care Crisis: The Former Soviet Union," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 40, October 8, 1993, 38.

Dawisha, Karen, and Bruce Parrott. *Russia and the New States of Eurasia: The Politics of Upheaval.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Delpla, Jacques, and Charles Wyplosz. "The Increase in Death and Disease under Katastroika," *Cambridge Journal of Economics* [Cambridge], No. 18, 1994, 329–55.

The Europa World Year-Book 1994, 2. London: Europa, 1994.

The Europa World Year-Book 1995, 2. London: Europa, 1995.

"The Feministki Are Coming," *Economist* [London], 336, No. 7927, August 12, 1995, 44–45.

Feshbach, Murray, ed. *Environmental and Health Atlas of Russia.* Moscow: Paims, 1995.

Fong, Monica S. *The Role of Women in Rebuilding the Russian Economy.* Washington: World Bank, 1993.

Friedgut, Theodore, and Jeffrey Hahn, eds. *Local Power and Post-Soviet Politics.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Gerhart, Genevra. *The Russian's World: Life and Language.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974.

Guermanovich, Alexei. "Drugs Join Alcohol as Bane to Russian Society," *Christian Science Monitor,* 87, No. 218, October 5, 1995, 1.

Heritage Foundation. *Crime and Corruption in Eurasia: A Threat to Democracy and International Security.* Washington: 1995.

Jones, Anthony. "The Educational Legacy of the Soviet Period." Pages 3–21 in Anthony Jones, ed., *Education and Society in the New Russia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993.

Jones, Anthony, ed. *Education and Society in the New Russia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993.

Kerr, Stephen T. "Diversification in Russian Education." Pages 47–73 in Anthony Jones, ed., *Education and Society in the New Russia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993.

Kon, Igor. *The Sexual Revolution in Russia: From the Age of the Tsars to Today.* Trans., James Riordan. New York: Free Press, 1995.

Kuz'min, A.T. *Sem'ya na Urale: Demograficheskiye aspekty vybora zhiznennogo puti* (The Family in the Urals: Demographic Aspects of Lifestyle Choices). Yekaterinburg: UIF Nauka, 1993.

Leighton, Marian. *Almanac of Russian Politics: Members of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation.* Washington: International Republican Institute, 1995.

Mezentseva, Elena. *The System of Gender Protection for Women.* Moscow: Center for Gender Studies, 1992.

Mezentseva, Elena. *Women and Social Policy.* Moscow: Center for Gender Studies, 1992.

Morvant, Penny. "Alarm over Falling Life Expectancy," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 21, October 20, 1995, 40–45.

Morvant, Penny. "Bearing the 'Double Burden' in Russia," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 18, September 8, 1995, 4–9.

Morvant, Penny. "Compromise Reached on New AIDS Legislation," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 11, May 26, 1995.

Nizsky, Vadim. "The Russian Needle," *New Times,* September 1994, 60–61.

Non-Military Aspects of International Security. Paris: UNESCO and Presses Universitaires de France, 1995.

Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh. Moscow: Vsya Moskva, 1994.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. *OECD Economic Surveys: The Russian Federation 1995.* Paris: 1995.

Pilkington, Hilary. *Russia's Youth and Its Culture: A Nation's Constructors and Constructed.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Puffer, Sheila M. "Education for Management in a New Economy. Pages 171–85 in Anthony Jones, ed., *Education and Society in the New Russia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993.

Rancour-Laferriere, Daniel. *The Slave Soul of Russia: Moral Masochism and the Cult of Suffering.* New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Rhodes, Mark. "Religious Believers in Russia," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 1, No. 14, April 3, 1992, 60–64.

Richmond, Yale. *From Nyet to Da: Understanding the Russians.* Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1992.

Russia. Committee on Land Resources and Utilization. *Zemlya Rossii 1995: Problemy, tsifry, kommentarii.* Moscow: 1996.

Russia and Eurasia: Facts and Figures Annual 1994. Ed., Theodore W. Karasik. Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1994.

Russian Business Agency et al. *Russia 1994–95: Business, Social, Economic Analytical Profile, 2–3.* Ed., Yuri V. Volkov. Moscow: Russian Business Agency, 1994

Ryan, Michael, comp. *Social Trends in Contemporary Russia: A Statistical Source Book.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

Shlapentokh, Vladimir. "Early Feudalism—The Best Parallel for Contemporary Russia," *Europe-Asia Studies,* 48, No. 3, 1996, 393–411.

Smith, Julia. *Housing Reform in Russia: Slow but Certain.* Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center, 1995.

Solomon, Andrew. "Young Russia's Defiant Decadence," *New York Times Magazine,* July 18, 1993, 16–23.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1993–1994. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1994–1995. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1995–1996. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Tolz, Vera. "Thorny Road Toward Federalism in Russia," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 48, December 3, 1993, 1–8.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1994.* Washington: 1994.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1995.* Washington: 1995.

Vovchenko, Olga. *The Status of Women in Russia.* Moscow: Center for Social Protection of Children and Families and Demographic Policy, 1992.

World Bank. *Poverty in Russia: An Assessment.* Washington: 1995.

World Bank. *Russia, Housing Reform and Privatization: Strategy and Transition Issues.* Washington: 1995.

World Bank. *Russia: Social Protection During Transition and Beyond.* Washington: 1995.

World Bank. *Statistical Handbook 1995: States of the Former USSR.* Washington: 1995.

(Various issues of the following periodicals also were used in the preparation of this chapter: *Christian Science Monitor;* Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia;* Jamestown Foundation, *Monitor; New York Times; Prism;* and *Washington Post.*)

Chapter 6

Aslund, Anders. *How Russia Became a Market Economy.* Washington: Brookings Institution, 1995.

Aslund, Anders, ed. *Economic Transformation in Russia.* London: Pinter, 1994.

Boycko, Maksim, Andrei Schleifer, and Robert W. Vishny. *Privatizing Russia.* Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.

Brown, A.N., Barry W. Ickes, and Randi Ryterman. *The Myth of Monopoly: A New View of Industrial Structure in Russia.* Washington: World Bank, 1993.

Campbell, Robert W., ed. *The Postcommunist Economic Transformation: Essays in Honor of Gregory Grossman.* Oxford: Westview Press, 1994.

Campbell, Robert W., ed. "The Russian Telecommunications Sector: A Status Report," *PlanEcon Report,* 11, Nos. 26–27, September 14, 1995.

Cooper, William. "Russia: Economic Conditions and the Prospects for Reform." *CRS Report for Congress,* No. 94–406E, 1994.

Economist Intelligence Unit. *Country Report: Russia, 1st Quarter 1996.* London: 1996.

Economist Intelligence Unit. *Country Report: Russia, 2d Quarter 1996.* London: 1996.

Ericson, Richard E. "The Russian Economy since Independence." Pages 37–77 in Gail W. Lapidus, ed., *The New Russia: Troubled Transformation.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995.

The Europa World Year Book 1994, 2. London: Europa, 1994.

The Europa World Year Book 1995, 2. London: Europa, 1995.

Feshbach, Murray, and Alfred Friendly, Jr. *Ecocide in the USSR: Health and Nature under Siege.* New York: Basic Books, 1992.

Fortescue, Stephen. "Privatisation of Large-Scale Russian Industry." Pages 85–100 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Frenkl, William G., and Michael Y. Sukhman. "New Foreign Investment Regimes of Russia and the Other Republics of the Former U.S.S.R.: A Legislative Analysis and Historical

Perspective," *Boston College International Comparative Law Review*, 16, Summer 1993, 321–423.

Gavrilenkov, Evgeny, and Vincent Koen. "How Large Was the Output Collapse in Russia?" International Monetary Fund Research Department Working Paper 94/154. Washington: 1994.

Granville, Brigitte, and Judith Shapiro. "Russian Inflation: A Statistical Pandora's Box," *Royal Institute of International Affairs Discussion Paper* [London], No. 53, 1994.

Grossman, Gregory. "The Second Economy in the USSR," *Problems of Communism*, 26, September 5, 1977, 25–40.

Grossman, Gregory. *Soviet Statistics of Physical Output of Industrial Commodities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960.

Hanson, Philip. "Structural Change in the Russian Economy," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 2, January 26, 1996, 18–21.

Hewett, Edward A. *Open for Business: Russia's Return to the Global Economy*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1992.

Hewett, Edward A. *Reforming the Soviet Economy*. Washington: Brookings Institution, 1988.

Holt, Jane. *Transport Strategies for the Russian Federation*. Washington: World Bank, 1993.

Interflo. *Special Statistical Supplement: U.S. Trade with the Former Soviet Republics*. Maplewood, New Jersey: 1994.

International Monetary Fund. *Economic Review: Russian Federation 1993*. Washington: 1993.

International Monetary Fund. *Economic Review: Russian Federation 1994*. Washington: 1994.

International Monetary Fund. *Economic Review: Russian Federation 1995*. Washington: 1995.

International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. *A Study of the Soviet Economy*. Washington: World Bank, 1991.

Koen, Vincent, and Steven Philips. "Price Liberalization in Russia: Behavior of Prices, Household Incomes, and Consumption During the First Year," International Monetary Fund, *Occasional Paper*, No. 104, 1993.

Kontorovich, Vladimir. "Imperial Legacy and the Transformation of the Russian Economy," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 17, August 23, 1996, 22–25.

Kurtzweg, Laura. "Trends in Soviet Gross National Product." Pages 126–65 in United States, 1st Session, 100th Congress, Joint Economic Committee. *Gorbachev's Economic Plans.* Washington: GPO, 1987.

Lapidus, Gail W., ed. *The New Russia: Troubled Transformation.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995.

Lazear, Edward, ed. *Lessons of Economic Reform in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union.* Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1995.

Lemon, Alaina. "Making Ends Meet in Moscow," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 9, May 3, 1996, 48–51.

Liefert, William, David Sedik, and Christian Foster. "Progress in Agricultural Reform," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 16, September 8, 1995, 50–52.

Maley, William. "The Shape of the Russian Macroeconomy." Pages 48–65 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Michalopoulos, Constantine, and David Tarr, eds. *Trade in the New Independent States.* (World Bank Studies of Economies in Transformation, No. 13.) Washington: World Bank, 1994.

Millar, James R. "From Utopian Socialism to Utopian Capitalism: The Failure of Revolution and Reform in Post-Soviet Russia," *Problems of Post-Communism,* May–June 1995, 7–14.

Miller, Robert F. "Reforming Russian Agriculture: Privatisation in Comparative Perspective." Pages 66–84 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Morvant, Penny, and Peter Rutland. "Russian Workers Face the Market," *Transition,* 2, No. 13, June 28, 1996, 6–15.

Novaya Rossiya '94: Informatsionno-statisticheskiy al'manakh. Moscow: Vsya Moskva, 1994.

Nove, Alec. *The Soviet Economic System.* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1990.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. *Agricultural Policies, Market and Trade in the Central and Eastern European Countries, Selected New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union, Mongolia, and China: Monitoring and Outlook for 1995.* Paris: 1995.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. *OECD Economic Surveys: The Russian Federation 1995.* Paris: 1995.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. International Energy Agency. *Energy Policies of the Russian Federation: 1995 Survey.* Paris: 1995.

Osakowe, Christopher. "Navigating the Minefields of Russian Joint Venture Law and Tax Regulations: A Procedural Compass," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law,* 25, February 1993, 799–879.

PlanEcon. *Review and Outlook for the Former Soviet Republics.* Washington: 1996.

Russia. Committee on Land Resources and Utilization. *Zemlya Rossii 1995: Problemy, tsifry, kommentarii.* Moscow: 1996.

Russian Business Agency et al. *Russia 1994–95: Business, Social, Economic Analytical Profile, 2–3.* Ed., Yuri V. Volkov. Moscow: Russian Business Agency, 1994.

Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. Expert Institute. *Russia's Regions in Transition.* Moscow: 1994.

Rutland, Peter. "Firms Trapped Between the Past and the Future," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 6, March 22, 1996, 26–32.

Rutland, Peter. "Russia's Energy Empire under Strain," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 9, May 3, 1996, 6–11.

Rutland, Peter. "Russia's Natural Gas Leviathan," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 9, May 3, 1996, 12–13.

Sachs, Jeffrey. "Prospects for Monetary Stabilization in Russia." Pages 32–58 in Anders Aslund, ed., *Economic Transformation in Russia.* London: Pinter, 1994.

Saikal, Amin, and William Maley, eds. *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1993–1994. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1994–1995. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1995–1996. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Strong, John, and John R. Meyer. *Moving to Market: Restructuring Transport in the Former Soviet Union.* Cambridge: Harvard Institute for International Development, 1995.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *Handbook of International Economic Statistics 1995.* Washington: 1995.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *Russia: An Economic Profile.* Washington: 1994.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1994.* Washington: 1994.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1995.* Washington: 1995.

United States. Department of Agriculture. *International Agriculture and Trade Reports: Former USSR.* Washington: 1995.

United States-Russia Business Council. *A U.S.-Russia Business Council Mid-year Report.* Washington: 1995.

Van Atta, Don. "Yeltsin Decree Finally Ends 'Second Serfdom' in Russia," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 46, November 19, 1993, 33–39.

Wallich, Christine. *Fiscal Decentralisation, Intergovernmental Relations in Russia.* (World Bank Studies of Economies in Transformation, No. 6.) Washington: World Bank, 1992.

Wallich, Christine, ed. *Russia and the Challenge of Fiscal Federalism.* Washington: World Bank, 1994.

WEFA Group. *Eurasia Economic Outlook, February 1996.* Eddystone, Pennsylvania: 1996.

Werner, Klaus. "Russia's Foreign Trade and the Economic Reforms," *Intereconomics,* 28, May–June 1993, 144–52.

Wertman, Patricia. "Rescheduling Russia's Debt: A Status Report," *CRS Report for Congress,* No. 95–856 E, 1995.

Wertman, Patricia. "Russian Economic Reform and the IMF: Mission Impossible?" *CRS Issue Brief,* No. 92128, 1994.

Wertman, Patricia. "Russia's Other Debt Problem: Enterprise Debt and Why It's Important," *CRS Report for Congress,* 93–255E, 1993.

White, Stephen. *After Gorbachev.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

World Bank. *Food and Agricultural Policy Reforms in the Former U.S.S.R.* Washington: 1992.

World Bank. *Russia: Joining the World Economy.* Washington: 1993.

World Bank. *Russian Federation: Toward Medium-Term Viability.* Washington: 1996.

World Bank. *Statistical Handbook 1995: States of the Former USSR.* Washington: 1995.

World Bank and Russia, Gosudarstvennyy komitet po statistike. *Russian Federation: Report on the National Accounts.* Washington: World Bank, 1995.

Yergin, Daniel, and Thane Gustafson. *Russia 2010 and What It Means for the World.* New York: Random House, 1993.

(Various issues of the following periodicals also were used in the preparation of this chapter: *Christian Science Monitor;* Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia* and *Daily Report: Central Eurasia Economic Review;* Jamestown Foundation, *Monitor; New York Times; Prism;* and *Washington Post.*)

Chapter 7

Afanasyev, Yuri. "Russian Reform Is Dead: Back to Central Planning," *Foreign Affairs,* 73, No. 2, March–April 1994, 21–26.

Amnesty International. *Amnesty International Report 1995.* New York: 1995.

Aslund, Anders. "Russia's Success Story," *Foreign Affairs,* 73, No. 5, September–October 1994, 58–71.

Barner-Barry, Carol, and Cynthia A. Hody. *The Politics of Change: The Transformation of the Former Soviet Union.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Belin, Laura. "Wrestling Political and Financial Repression," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 18, October 6, 1995, 59–63.

Brown, Archie. "Political Leadership in Post-Communist Russia." Pages 28–46 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Busygina-Thaenert, Irina. "Russia: Difficulties in Establishing a Federation," *Aussenpolitik* [Bonn], No. 3, 1995, 253–70.

Clark, Susan L., and David R. Graham. "The Russian Federation's Fight for Survival," *Orbis,* 39, No. 3, Summer 1995, 329–51.

Colton, Timothy J., and Robert Legvold, eds. *After the Soviet Union: From Empire to Nation.* New York: Norton, 1992.

Colton, Timothy J., and Robert C. Tucker, eds. *Patterns in Post-Soviet Leadership.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995.

Davidova, Alla. "Russia's No. 1 Manager," *Prism*, 2, No. 11, Pt. 4, May 31, 1996.

Dawisha, Karen, and Bruce Parrott. *Russia and the New States of Eurasia: The Politics of Upheaval.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Fish, M. Steven. *Democracy from Scratch: Opposition and Regime in the New Russian Revolution.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Friedgut, Theodore H., and Jeffrey W. Hahn, eds. *Local Power and Post-Soviet Politics.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994.

Goldman, Stuart. "Russia's New Parliament," *CRS Report for Congress*, 94–844F, October 31, 1994.

Gualtieri, Dominic. "Russia's New 'War of Laws,'" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 35, September 3, 1993, 10–15.

Hahn, Jeffrey W., ed. *Democratization in Russia: The Development of Legislative Institutions.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1996.

Henze, Paul B. "Ethnic Dynamics and Dilemmas of the Russian Republic," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 17, January–March 1994, 61–86.

Holden, Gerard. *Russia after the Cold War: History and the Nation in Post-Soviet Security Politics.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994.

"How Many Other Chechnyas?" *Economist* [London], 334, No. 33, January 14, 1995, 43–45.

Ingwerson, Marshall. "In Term No. 2, Yeltsin Struggles to Patch Up a Torn Democracy," *Christian Science Monitor*, 88, No. 180, August 12, 1996, 1.

Kirkow, Peter. "Regional Warlordism in Russia: The Case of Primorskiy Krai," *Europe-Asia Studies*, 47, September 1995, 923–47.

Lynch, Allen. "Politics Without Government," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 1, February 15, 1995, 2–4.

Malik, Hafeez. "Tatarstan's Treaty with Russia: Autonomy or Independence," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 18, Winter 1994, 1–36.

McFaul, Michael. "Why Russia's Politics Matters," *Foreign Affairs*, 74, No. 1, January–February 1995, 87–99.

McFaul, Michael, et al. "Russia Symposium: Is Russian Democracy Doomed?" *Journal of Democracy*, 5, April 1994, 4–41.

Millar, James R. "From Utopian Socialism to Utopian Capitalism: The Failure of Revolution and Reform in Post-Soviet Russia," *Problems of Post-Communism*, May–June 1995, 7–14.

Moses, Joel. "Soviet Provincial Politics in an Era of Transition and Revolution, 1989–1991," *Soviet Studies*, 44, No. 3, 1992, 479–509.

Nichol, James P. "The Russian Federation: Will It Hold Together?" *CRS Report for Congress*, 92–752F, October 6, 1992.

Nichol, James P. "Russian Legislative Elections and Constitutional Referendum: Outcome and Implications for U.S. Interests," *CRS Report for Congress*, 93–456F, January 7, 1994.

Nichol, James P. "Russia's Civil-Military Relations," *CRS Report for Congress*, 94–631F, July 28, 1994.

Nichol, James P. "Russia's Constitutional Crisis," *CRS Issue Brief*, IB93052, March–June, 1993.

Nichol, James P. "Russia's December 1995 Legislative Elections: Outcome and Implications for U.S. Interests," *CRS Report for Congress*, 96–17F, January 4, 1996.

Nichol, James P. "Russia's Future: Issues and Options for U.S. Policy," *CRS Report for Congress*, 95–1128F, November 15, 1995.

Nichol, James P. "Russia's Presidential Election: Outcome and Implications for U.S. Interests," *CRS Report for Congress*, 96–620F, July 12, 1996.

Nichol, James P. "Russia's Upcoming Presidential Election: Implications for Russia and U.S. Interests," *CRS Report for Congress*, 96–457F, May 20, 1996.

Nichol, James P. "Russia's Violent Showdown: A Chronology of Events, September 21–October 4, 1993," *CRS Report for Congress*, 93–879F, October 5, 1993.

Nichol, James P. "Yeltsin and the Russian Congress of People's Deputies: Outcome and Implications for U.S. Interests," *CRS Report for Congress*, 92–988F, December 30, 1992.

Nogee, Joseph L., and R. Judson Mitchell. *Russian Politics: The Struggle for a New Order.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996.

Orttung, Robert. "Chechnya: A Painful Price," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 3, March 15, 1995, 3–10.

Rahr, Alexander. "The Implications of Russia's Parliamentary Elections," *RFE/Rl Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 1, January 7, 1994, 32–37.

Rahr, Alexander. "Russia's Future: With or Without Yeltsin," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 17, April 29, 1994, 1–7.

Reese, Andrew. "Democracy in Russia: The December Elections," *Russian Political Review,* December 7, 1993, 1–6.

Russia. President. *Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation Submitted by the Russian Federation President for Nationwide Vote.* Translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia,* FBIS-SOV–93–216, November 10, 1993, 19–37.

"Russia in Crisis," *The World & I,* 10, May 1995, 22–41.

"Russian Democracy: The Missing Pieces," *Economist* [London], 332, No. 7878, September 3, 1994, 53–54.

Saikal, Amin, and William Maley, eds. *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Sakwa, Richard. *Russian Politics and Society.* New York: Routledge, 1993.

Sharlet, Robert. "The New Russian Constitution and Its Political Impact," *Problems of Post-Communism,* January–February 1995, 3–7.

Sharlet, Robert. "The Prospects for Federalism in Russian Constitutional Politics," *Publius,* 24, Spring 1994, 115–27.

Slater, Wendy. "Russia: The Return of Authoritarian Government?" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 1, January 7, 1994, 22–31.

Slater, Wendy, and Vera Tolz. "Yeltsin Wins in Moscow but May Lose to the Regions," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 40, October 8, 1993, 1–7.

Slider, Darrell. "Political Tendencies in Russia's Regions: Evidence from the 1993 Parliamentary Elections," *Slavic Review,* 53, No. 3, Fall 1994, 711–32.

Smith, M.A. *Consolidating the Russian State.* London: Ministry of Defence, 1996.

Solnick, Steven L. "The Breakdown of Hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: A Neo-institutional Perspective," *World Politics,* 48, January 1996, 209–38.

Staar, Richard F. *The New Military in Russia: Ten Myths That Shape the Image.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1993–1994. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1994–1995. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

The Statesman's Year-Book 1995–1996. Ed., Brian Hunter. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Teague, Elizabeth. "Russia and Tatarstan Sign Power-Sharing Treaty," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 14, April 1, 1994, 19–27.

Teague, Elizabeth. "Russia's Local Elections Begin," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 7, February 18, 1994, 1–4.

Tolz, Vera. "Problems of Building Democratic Institutions in Russia," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 10, March 4, 1994, 1–7.

Tolz, Vera. "The Shifting Sands of Stabilization," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 1, February 15, 1995, 5–8.

Tolz, Vera. "Thorny Road Toward Federalism in Russia," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 48, December 3, 1993, 1–8.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1994.* Washington: 1994.

United States. Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook 1995.* Washington: 1995.

United States. Congress. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. *Human Rights and Democratization in the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union.* Washington: GPO, 1993.

United States. Department of State. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1995.* Washington: GPO, 1995.

Urban, Michael. "The Politics of Identity in Russia's Postcommunist Transition: The Nation Against Itself," *Slavic Review,* 53, No. 3, Fall 1994, 733–65.

Voorhees, James C. "Russian Federalism and Reform," *Demokratizatsiya,* 2, Fall 1994, 549–64.

Walker, Edward W. "Federalism Russian Style: The Federation Provisions in Russia's New Constitution," *Problems of Post-Communism,* July–August 1995, 3–12.

Warhola, James W. *Politicized Ethnicity in the Russian Federation: Dilemmas of State Formation.* Lewiston, Maine: Edwin Mellen Press, 1996.

Wedgwood Benn, David. "The Russian Media in Post-Soviet Conditions," *Europe-Asia Studies,* 48, No. 3, 1996, 471–79.

White, Stephen. *After Gorbachev.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

"Who Runs Russia?" *Economist* [London], 331, No. 7869, June 25, 1994, 47–48.

World Bank. *Russian Federation: Toward Medium-Term Viability.* Washington: 1996.

World Radio TV Handbook 1996. Ed., Andrew G. Sennitt. Amsterdam: Billboard, 1996.

Yasmann, Victor. "Security Services Reorganized: All Power to the Russian President?" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 6, February 11, 1994, 7–14.

Yeltsin, Boris. *The Stuggle for Russia.* New York: Random House, Times Books, 1994.

Yergin, Daniel, and Thane Gustafson. *Russia 2010.* 2d ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

Zelikow, Philip. "Beyond Boris Yeltsin: Following America's Enduring Interests," *Foreign Affairs,* 73, No. 1, January–February 1994, 44–55.

(Various issues of the following periodicals also were used in the preparation of this chapter: *Christian Science Monitor;* Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia;* Jamestown Foundation, *Monitor* and *Prism; New York Times; Transition* [Prague]; and *Washington Post.*)

Chapter 8

Adams, Jan S. *A Foreign Policy in Transition: Moscow's Retreat from Central America and the Caribbean, 1985–1992.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1992.

Adams, Jan S. "Who Will Make Russia's Foreign Policy in 1994?" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 6, February 11, 1994, 36–40.

Alexandrovna, Olga. "Divergent Russian Foreign Policy Concepts," *Aussenpolitik* [Bonn], No. 4, 1993, 363–72.

Allison, Roy. "Russian Peacekeeping: Capabilities and Doctrine," *Jane's Intelligence Review* [Coulsdon, United Kingdom], 6, December 1994, 544–47.

Arbatov, Alexei G. "Russia's Foreign Policy Alternatives," *International Security*, 18, Fall 1993, 5–43.

Blackwill, Robert D., and Sergei A. Karaganov, eds. *Damage Limitation or Crisis?: Russia and the Outside World.* Washington: Brassey's, 1994.

Blank, Stephen. *Challenging the New World Order: The Arms Transfer Policies of the Russian Republic.* Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, 1993.

Blank, Stephen. *The New Russia in the New Asia.* Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, 1994.

Blank, Stephen. "Russia's Real Drive to the South," *Orbis*, 39, No. 3, Summer 1995, 369–86.

Bogaturov, Alexei D. "Russia in Northeast Asia," *Korea and World Affairs*, 17, Summer 1993, 298–315.

Brusstar, James H. "Russian Vital Interests and Western Security," *Orbis*, 38, No. 4, Fall 1994, 607–19.

Brusstar, James H., and Ellen Jones. "Great Power Restorationists Make Gains in the Russian Duma," *Institute for National Strategic Studies Strategic Forum*, No. 65, March 1996.

Brusstar, James H., and Ellen Jones. *The Russian Military's Role in Politics.* (McNair Paper No. 34). Washington: National Defense University Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1995.

Brutents, Karen. "Russia and the East," *International Affairs* [Moscow], 70, January–February 1994, 40–44.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "The Premature Partnership," *Foreign Affairs*, 73, No. 2, March–April 1994, 67–82.

Cohen, Ariel. "The Empire That Would," *The World and I*, 10, May 1995, 30–35.

Crow, Suzanne. "Ambartsumov's Influence on Russian Foreign Policy," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 18, May 7, 1993, 1–8.

Crow, Suzanne. *The Making of Foreign Policy in Russia under Yeltsin.* Munich: RFE/RL Research Institute, 1993.

Crow, Suzanne. "Russia Asserts Its Strategic Agenda," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 50, December 17, 1993, 1–8.

Crow, Suzanne. "Why Has Russian Foreign Policy Changed?" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 18, May 7, 1994, 1–6.

Dannreuther, Roland. "Russia, Central America, and the Persian Gulf," *Survival*, 35, Winter 1993–94, 92–112.

Dawisha, Adeed, and Karen Dawisha, eds. *The Making of Foreign Policy in Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1995.

Dawisha, Karen, and Bruce Parrott. "Foreign Policy Priorities and Institutions: Russia." Pages 198–207 in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, *Russia and the New States of Eurasia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Dawisha, Karen, and Bruce Parrott. *Russia and the New States of Eurasia: The Politics of Upheaval.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Dick, Charles. "The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation," *Jane's Intelligence Review* [Coulsdon, United Kingdom], 6, January 1994, 1–12.

Ellison, Herbert J. "Toward a New Realism," *The World & I*, 10, May 1995, 36–41.

Foye, Stephen. "Russo-Japanese Relations: Still Traveling a Rocky Road" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 44, November 5, 1993, 27–34.

Fuller, Elizabeth. "Russian Strategy in the Transcaucasus since the Demise of the USSR," *Berichte des Bundesinstituts für ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien* [Cologne], 40, 1994.

Goldberg, David H., and Paul Marantz, eds. *The Decline of the Soviet Union and the Transformation of the Middle East.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994.

Halbach, Uwe, and Heinrich Tiller. "Russia and Its Southern Flank," *Aussenpolitik* [Bonn], 45, No. 2, 1994, 156–65.

Hee Lee, Chang. *Global Change and the Korean Peninsula.* Washington: Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, 1993.

Hermann, Richard K. "Russian Policy in the Middle East: Strategic Change and Tactical Contradictions," *Middle East Journal*, 48, Summer 1994, 455–74.

Holden, Gerard. *Russia after the Cold War: History and the Nation in Post-Soviet Security Politics.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994.

Holmes, Leslie. "Russia's Relations with the Former External Empire." Pages 123–41 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Hudson, George E. "Russia's Search for Identity in the Post-Cold-War World," *Mershon International Studies Review,* 38, October 1994, 235–40.

Jackson, William D. "Imperial Temptations: Ethnics Abroad," *Orbis,* 38, No. 1, Winter 1994, 1–17.

Johnson, Teresa Pelton, and Steven E. Miller, eds. *Russian Security after the Cold War: Seven Views from Moscow.* Washington: Brassey's, 1994.

Jones, Ellen, and James H. Brusstar. "Moscow's Emerging Security Decisionmaking System: The Role of the Security Council," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies,* 6, September 1993, 345–74.

Jonson, Lena. "The Foreign Policy Debate in Russia: In Search of a National Interest," *Nationalities Papers,* No. 1, Spring 1994, 175–93.

Kasatkin, Anatoliy. "Priorities and Other Components of Foreign Policy," *International Affairs* [Moscow], No. 12, 1994, 79–86.

Kim, Won Bae. "Sino-Russian Relations and Chinese Workers in the Russian Far East," *Asian Survey,* 34, December 1994, 1064–76.

Kortunov, Sergei, and Andrey Kortunov. "From 'Moralism' to 'Pragmatics': New Dimensions or Russian Foreign Policy," *Comparative Strategy,* 13, 1994, 261–76.

Kozyrev, Andrei. "The Lagging Partnership," *Foreign Affairs,* 73, No. 3, May–June 1994, 59–71.

Kozyrev, Andrei. "Partnership or Cold Peace?" *Foreign Policy,* No. 99, Summer 1995, 3–14.

Kullberg, Judith S. *The End of New Thinking?: Elite Ideologies and the Future of Russian Foreign Policy.* Columbus: Mershon Center, Ohio State University, 1993.

Lepingwell, John W. "The Russian Military and Security Policy in the 'Near Abroad,'" *Survival,* 36, Autumn 1994, 70–92.

Lough, Jean. "The Place of the 'Near Abroad' in Russian Foreign Policy," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 10, March 12, 1993, 21–29.

Lugar, Richard G. "Assessing the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the 1990s," *Problems of Communism*, 41, January–April 1992, 76–80.

Lynch, Allen. "Postcommunist Political Dynamics: Ex Uno Plura," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 1, January 7, 1994, 1–8.

Maksudov, Sergei, and William Taubman. "Russian-Soviet Nationality Policy and Foreign Policy." Pages 15–43 in Michael Mandelbaum, ed., *The Rise of Nations in the Soviet Union*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1991.

Mandelbaum, Michael, ed. *The Rise of Nations in the Soviet Union*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1991.

Mesbahi, Mohiaddin, ed. *Central Asia and the Caucasus after the Soviet Union: Domestic and International Dynamics*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994.

Mesbahi, Mohiaddin, ed. *Russia and the Third World in the Post-Soviet Era*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994.

Meyer, Peggy Falkenheim. "Moscow's Relations with Tokyo: Domestic Obstacles to a Territorial Agreement," *Asian Survey*, 33, October 1993, 953–67.

Mitchell, Nina. "Loose Cannon? The Russian Military in the NearAbroad," *Harvard International Review*, 16, Summer 1994, 40–41.

Nevers, Renee de. "Russia's Strategic Renovation," *Adelphi Papers*, No. 289, 1994.

Nichol, James P. *Diplomacy in the Former Soviet Republics*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1995.

Olcott, Martha Brill. "Sovereignty and the 'Near Abroad,'" *Orbis*, 39, Summer 1995, 353–67.

Polsky, Yury. "Russia's Policy Toward Israel," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 27, Fall 1994, 19–35.

Pushkov, Alexei K. "Letter from Eurasia: Russia and America—the Honeymoon's Over," *Foreign Policy*, No. 93, Winter 1993, 76–90.

Rahr, Alexander. "New Faces and Old Priorities," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 1, February 15, 1995, 9–11.

Saikal, Amin. "Russia and Central Asia." Pages 142–56 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Saikal, Amin, and William Maley. "From Soviet to Russian Foreign Policy." Pages 102–22 in Amin Saikal and William Maley, eds., *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Saikal, Amin, and William Maley, eds. *Russia in Search of Its Future.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Sestanovich, Stephen. "Andrei the Giant," *New Republic,* 210, April 11, 1994, 24–27.

Sestanovich, Stephen, ed. *Rethinking Russia's National Interests.* Washington: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1994.

Shearman, Peter, ed. *Russian Foreign Policy since 1990.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995.

Slagle, James H. "New Russian Military Doctrine: Sign of the Times," *Parameters,* 24, Spring 1994, 88–89.

Smith, Mark. *Pax Russica: Russia's Monroe Doctrine.* London: Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, 1993.

Stoessinger, John George. *Nations at Dawn—China, Russia, and America.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994.

Sudarev, Vladimir P. "Russia and Latin America," *Hemisphere,* 5, Winter–Spring 1993, 12–14.

Szporluk, Roman. "Belarus, Ukraine, and the Russian Question: A Comment," *Post-Soviet Affairs,* 9, October–December 1993, 366–74.

Szporluk, Roman. "Soviet Domestic Foreign Policy: Universal Ideology and National Tradition," *Nationalities Papers,* 22, Spring 1994, 195–207.

Teague, Elizabeth. "North-South Divide: Yeltsin and Russia's Provincial Leaders," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 47, November 26, 1993, 7–23.

Timmermann, Heinz. "Russian Foreign Policy under Yeltsin: Priority for Integration into the 'Community of Civilized States,'" *Journal of Communist Studies,* 8, December 1992, 163–85.

Tolz, Vera. "Thorny Road Toward Federalism in Russia," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 48, December 3, 1993, 1–8.

Tyurdenev, Vladimir. "Latin America and Russia," *International Affairs* [Moscow], No. 11, 1994, 31–37.

Valkenier, Elizabeth Kridl. "Russian Policies in Central Asia: Change or Continuity?" *SAIS Review*, 14, Summer–Fall 1994, 15–28.

Webber, Mark. "The Emergence of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 26, September 1993, 243–63.

Werner, Klaus. "Russia's Foreign Trade and the Economic Reforms," *Intereconomics*, 28, May–June 1993, 144–52.

Wittag, Gerhard. "Moscow's Perception of NATO's Role," *Aussenpolitik* [Bonn], No. 2, 1994, 123–33.

Yassman, Victor. "Five Different Perceptions on the Future of Russian Foreign Policy," *Demokratizatsiya*, No. 4, 1993, 84–95.

Zelikow, Philip. "Beyond Boris Yeltsin," *Foreign Affairs*, 73, No. 1, January–February 1994, 44–55.

(Various issues of the following periodicals also were used in the preparation of this chapter: *Christian Science Monitor*; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia*; Jamestown Foundation, *Monitor*; *New York Times*; *Prism*; and *Washington Post*.)

Chapter 9

Ahmedullah, Mohammed. "Renewing Indo-Russian Defence Cooperation," *Military Technology*, 22, No. 3, March 1996, 38–48.

Almquist, Peter. "Arms Producers Struggle to Survive as Defense Orders Shrink," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 25, June 18, 1993, 33–41.

Benson, Sumner. "Will Moscow Use High-Tech to Remilitarize?" *Orbis*, 39, No. 3, Summer 1995, 403–16.

Billington, James H. *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture*. New York: Knopf, 1966.

Blank, Stephen. *Challenging the New World Order: The Arms Transfer Policies of the Russian Republic*. Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, 1993.

Bukharin, Oleg A. "Meeting the Challenges of Dismantlement," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 21, November 17, 1995, 30–33.

Clarke, Douglas L. "A Hollow Russian Military Force in Asia?" *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 17, September 22, 1995, 24–27.

Clarke, Douglas L. "Rusting Fleet Renews Debate on Navy's Mission," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 25, June 18, 1993, 25–32.

Cullin, Tony, and Christopher Foss, eds. *Jane's Land Based Air Defence 1993–94.* Coulsdon, United Kingdom: Jane's Information Group, 1993.

Dick, Charles. "The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation," *Jane's Intelligence Review* [Coulsdon, United Kingdom], 6, January 1994, 1–12.

Dunlop, John B. "Russia: Confronting a Loss of Empire," *Political Science Quarterly,* 109, Winter 1993–94, 603–63.

Ford, Peter. "Young Russians Want Out of Their Own Brutal Army," *Christian Science Monitor,* 87, August 8, 1995, 1.

Foye, Stephen. "Civilian and Military Leaders in Russia's 'New' Political Arena," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 15, April 15, 1994, 1–6.

Foye, Stephen. "A Hardened Stance on Foreign Policy," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 9, June 9, 1995, 36–40.

Foye, Stephen. "The Soviet Legacy," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 25, June 18, 1993, 1–8.

Fuller, Elizabeth. "Stopping the Shooting Is Only Half the Battle," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 1, January 12, 1996, 22–24.

Glantz, David M. *Soviet and Commonwealth Military Doctrine in Revolutionary Times.* Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas: Foreign MilitaryStudies Office, 1992.

"Glasnost" Public Foundation. Public Investigation Commission. Round Table VI. *The War in Chechnya: Necessity of Holding an International Tribunal.* Moscow: 1995.

Glogan, Tim. "Russia to Pay Debt with SA–11 Missile Systems," *Jane's Defence Weekly* [Coulsdon, United Kingdom], 25, December 16, 1995, 9.

Grechko, Aleksandr. *The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union.* Moscow: Progress, 1977.

Gribincea, Mihai. "Rejecting a New Role for the Former 14th Russian Army," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 6, March 22, 1996, 38–40.

Handler, Joshua. "The Future of Russia's Strategic Forces," *Jane's Intelligence Review* [Coulsdon, United Kingdom], 7, April 1995, 162–65.

Heilbrunn, Jacob. "The Big East: A New Russian Empire," *New Republic*, 214, May 27, 1996, 22–24.

Heinrich, Andreas, and Heiko Pleines. "Russia's 'Nuclear Flea Market' Tempts Smugglers," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 21, 1995, 9–11.

Herspring, Dale R. "The Russian Military: Three Years On," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 28, No. 2, June 1995, 163–82.

Hoff, Magdalene, and Heinz Tammerman. "Kaliningrad: Russia's Future Gateway to Europe?" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 36, September 10, 1993.

Holcomb, James F. *Russian Military Doctrine.* Camberley, United Kingdom: Soviet Studies Research Centre, 1992.

Ingwerson, Marshall. "Russia's Army: A Loose Cannon in Power Transfer," *Christian Science Monitor*, 88, 138, June 12, 1996, 1.

Ionescu, Dan. "Russia's Long Arm and the Dniester Impasse," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 19, 1995, 14–15.

Joint Publications Research Service. *JPRS Report: Central Eurasia Military Affairs: Directory of Military Organizations and Personnel.* Washington: 1994.

Katz, Mark N. "Nationalism and the Legacy of Empire," *Current History*, 94, October 1995, 328–36.

Kogan, Yevgeni. "Russian Defence Conversion and Arms Exportation," *Peace Research Institute Frankfurt Reports* [Frankfurt-am-Main], No. 41, 1995.

Konovalov, Aleksandr. "Will Yeltsin Sacrifice His Defense Minister?" *Prism*, 2, No. 9, Pt. 3, May 3, 1996.

Lepingwell, John W.R. "Is the Military Disintegrating from Within?" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 25, June 18, 1993, 9–16.

Lepingwell, John W.R. "Restructuring the Russian Military," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 25, June 18, 1993, 17–24.

Lunev, Stanislav. "Future Changes in Russian Military Policy," *Prism*, 2, No. 3, Pt. 2, February 9, 1996, 1–5.

Lunev, Stanislav. "Russian Military Policy in the Transcaucasus," *Prism*, 2, No. 8, Pt. 4, April 19, 1996.

Mackenzie-Wallace, Donald F. *Russia on the Eve of War and Revolution.* New York: Random House, 1961.

Marshall-Hasdell, Dennis J. *Russian Airpower in Chechnya.* Camberly, United Kingdom: Conflict Studies Research Centre, 1996.

Mihalka, Michael. "Continued Resistance to NATO Expansion," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 14, August 11, 1995, 36–41.

The Military Balance, 1993–1994. London: Brassey's, 1993.

The Military Balance, 1994–1995. London: Brassey's, 1994.

The Military Balance, 1995–1996. London: Brassey's, 1995.

Orr, Michael. *The Russian Army and the War in Tajikistan.* Camberly, United Kingdom: Conflict Studies Research Centre, 1996.

Orttung, Robert. "Chechnya: A Painful Price," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 3, March 15, 1995, 3–10.

Oznobishchev, Sergei. "Russia Now Has Its Own 'National Security Policy,'" *Prism,* 2, No. 12, Pt. 3, June 14, 1996, 1–5.

Parrish, Scott. "Nuclear Arms: A Soviet Legacy," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 21, November 17, 1995, 6–8.

Parrish, Scott. "A Turning Point in the Chechen Conflict," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 15, July 28, 1995, 42–50.

Petersen, Phillip A., and Shane C. Petersen. "The Kaliningrad Garrison State," *Jane's Intelligence Review* [Coulsdon, United Kingdom], 5, February 1993, 59–62.

Plater-Zyberk, Henry. *Russia's Future Security: The Zhirinovskiy Factor.* Camberley, United Kingdom: Conflict Studies Research Centre, 1994.

Rutland, Peter, and Ustina Markus. "Russia as a Pacific Power," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 16, September 8, 1995, 4–7.

Slagle, James H. "New Russian Military Doctrine: Sign of the Times," *Parameters,* 24, Spring 1994, 88–89.

Socor, Vladimir. "The Fourteenth Army in Moldova: There to Stay?" *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 25, June 18, 1993, 42–49.

Staar, Richard F. "Beyond the Unipolar Moment: Moscow's Plans to Restore Its Power," *Orbis,* 40, No. 3, Summer 1996, 375–89.

Staar, Richard F. *The New Military in Russia: Ten Myths That Shape the Image.* Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996.

Stockholm International Peace Research Center. *SIPRI Yearbook 1995: Armaments, Disarmament, and International Security.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Thomas, Timothy. "Fault Lines and Factions in the Russian Army," *Orbis*, 39, No. 4, Fall 1995, 531–48.

Turbiville, Graham H., Jr. *Mafia in Uniform: The Criminalization of the Russian Armed Forces.* Washington: Foreign Military Studies Office, 1996.

"World Defence Almanac 1995–96," *Military Technology* [Bonn], 20, No. 1, 1996.

World Directory of Defense Authorities. Bethesda, Maryland: Worldwide Government Directories, 1996.

(Various issues of the following periodicals also were used in the preparation of this chapter: *Defense News*; Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia* and *Daily Report: Central Eurasia Military Affairs*; *Komsomol'skaya pravda* [Moscow]; *Krasnaya zvezda* [Moscow]; and *Washington Post.*)

Chapter 10

Albats, Yevgeniia. *The State Within a State: The KGB and Its Hold on Russia Today.* New York: Farrah, Strauss, Giroux, 1994.

"Crime and Corruption in Russia." Briefing on the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Washington: June 1994.

Fuller, Elizabeth. "Chechen Politics: A Murky Prospect," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 6, March 15, 1995, 11–13.

"Groping Ahead," *Economist* [London], 336, No. 7930, September 2, 1995, 42–48.

Handelman, Stephen. *Comrade Criminal: Russia's New Mafia.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Handelman, Stephen. "The Russian 'Mafiya,'" *Foreign Affairs*, 73, No. 2, March-April 1994, 83–96.

Heritage Foundation. *Crime and Corruption in Eurasia: A Threat to Democracy and International Security.* Washington: 1995.

Ingwerson, Marshall. "Russia's Juries Give Police an O.J.-Style Rap," *Christian Science Monitor*, 88, No. 103, April 23, 1996.

Knight, Amy. *The KGB: Police and Politics in the Soviet Union.* Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1988.

Knight, Amy. "Russian Security Services under Yeltsin," *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 9, No. 1, 1993, 40–65.

Morvant, Penny. "Corruption Hampers War on Crime in Russia," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 6, March 8, 1996, 23–27.

Morvant, Penny. "War on Organized Crime and Corruption," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 4, February 15, 1995, 32–36.

"The Rise of Russia's Crime Commissars," *World Press Review*, 41, June 1994, 13–14.

Sterling, Claire. *Thieves' World. The Threat of the New Global Network of Organized Crime.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994.

Tolz, Vera, "The Moscow Crisis and the Future of Democracy in Russia," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 42, October 22, 1993, 1–9.

Ulrich, Christopher J. "The Growth of Crime in Russia and the Baltic Region," *RFE/FL Research Report* [Munich], 3, No. 23, June 10, 1994, 24–32.

Ulrich, Christopher J. *The Price of Freedom: The Criminal Threat in Russia, Eastern Europe, and the Baltic Region.* Washington: Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, 1994.

United States. 104th Congress, 1st Session. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. *Crisis in Chechnya.* Hearings Held January 19 and 27, 1995. Washington: GPO, 1995.

United States. Department of State. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1995.* Washington: GPO, 1995.

United States. Department of State. Bureau of International Narcotics Matters. *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report March 1996.* Washington: GPO, 1996.

Waller, J. Michael. *Secret Empire: The KGB in Russia Today.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994.

Wishnevsky, Julia. "Corruption Allegations Undermine Russia's Leaders," *RFE/RL Research Report* [Munich], 2, No. 37, September 17, 1993, 16–22.

Wishnevsky, Julia. "Manipulation, Mayhem, and Murder," *Transition* [Prague], 1, No. 6, February 15, 1995, 37–40.

Woff, Richard. "The Border Troops of the Russian Federation," *Jane's Intelligence Review* [Coulsdon, United Kingdom], 7, No. 2, February 1995, 70–73.

Zhdanov, Vladimir, and James Hughes. "Russia's 'Alpha Group' Changes with the Times," *Transition* [Prague], 2, No. 6, March 8, 1996, 28–31.

Zimmerman, Tim, and Alan Cooperman. "The Russian Connection," *U.S. News and World Report*, October 23, 1995, 56–67.

(Various issues of the following periodicals also were used in the preparation of this chapter: Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Central Eurasia*; *Izvestiya* [Moscow]; *Keesings Record of World Events* [London]; *Komsomol'skaya Pravda* [Moscow]; *Moskovskiye Novosti* [Moscow]; *Nezavisimaya gazeta* [Moscow]; *Pravda* [Moscow]; and *Rossiyskaya gazeta* [Moscow]).

Glossary

Academy of Sciences (Akademiya nauk)—Russia's most prestigious scholarly institute, established in 1725 by Peter the Great. The Academy of Sciences has historically carried out long-range research and developed new technology. The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union conducted basic research in the physical, natural, mathematical, and social sciences. In 1991 Russia established its own academy for the first time in the Soviet era.

Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty)—A 1972 agreement limiting deployment of United States and Soviet anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems. A protocol signed in 1974 limited each party to a single ABM system deployment area. In 1996 the United States and Russia negotiated to modify the terms of the treaty in order to permit testing of technology against non-intercontinental delivery systems.

balance of payments—A record of receipts from and payments to the rest of the world by a country's government and its residents. The balance of payments includes the international financial transactions of a country for commodities, services, capital transactions, and gold movements.

balance of trade—A record of a country's trade in goods with the rest of the world. The balance of trade differs from the balance of payments (*q.v.*) because the latter includes transactions for services and the former does not. When the exports of merchandise exceed imports, a country is said to have a balance of trade surplus or to have a favorable balance of trade. When the imports of merchandise exceed exports, a country is said to have a balance of trade deficit or to have an unfavorable balance of trade.

Bank for International Standards (BIS)—Established in 1930 to assist national central banks in managing and investing monetary reserves and to promote international cooperation among those banks.

Bolshevik—Originally referring to a member of the majority (*bol'shinstvo*), a name adopted by the radical members of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in 1903. In March 1918, the Bolsheviks formed the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik). That Party was the precursor of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU—*q.v.*).

boyar—Between the tenth and seventeenth centuries, a member of the upper level of the nobility and state administration in Kievan Rus' and Muscovy. Abolished as a class by Peter the Great.

Brezhnev Doctrine—The Soviet Union's declared right to intervene in the internal affairs of another socialist state if the leading role of that state's communist party was threatened. Formulated as justification for the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. Mikhail S. Gorbachev implicitly abandoned the Brezhnev Doctrine in 1989.

chernozem—Literally, black earth. A type of rich, black soil indigenous to large parts of Ukraine and southwestern Russia.

collective farm (*kollektivnoye khozyaystvo—kolkhoz*)—In the Soviet agricultural system, an agricultural "cooperative" where peasants, under the direction of party-approved plans and leaders, were paid wages based in part on the success of their harvest. Still in existence in the 1990s.

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)—Created on December 21, 1991, when eleven heads of state signed the Alma-Ata Declaration, expanding membership of the all-Slavic CIS established at Minsk two weeks earlier by Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. The eight other members were Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The CIS aims to coordinate intracommonwealth relations and oversee common interests of its members in economics, foreign policy, and defense matters. In October 1993, Georgia became the twelfth member of the CIS. Efforts to strengthen CIS authority and interaction generally have not been successful.

communism/communist—A doctrine based on revolutionary Marxist socialism (*q.v.*) and Marxism-Leninism (*q.v.*). As the official ideology of the Soviet Union, it provided for a system of authoritarian government in which the CPSU (*q.v.*) alone controlled state-owned means of production. Communism nominally sought to establish a society in which the state would wither away and goods and services would be distributed equitably.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)—The official name of the communist party in the Soviet Union after 1952. Originally the Bolshevik (*q.v.*) faction of the Russian

Social Democratic Labor Party, the party was named the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) from March 1918 to December 1925, then the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) from December 1925 to October 1952. After the August 1991 Moscow coup, Russian president Boris N. Yeltsin banned the party in Russia and ordered its property turned over to the government.

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)—*See* Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Congress of People's Deputies—Established in 1988 by constitutional amendment, the highest organ of legislative and executive authority in the Soviet Union. As such, it elected the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Union's standing legislative body. The Congress of People's Deputies elected in March–April 1989 consisted of 2,250 deputies. The congress ceased to exist with the demise of the Soviet Union.

Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE Treaty)—An agreement signed in November 1990 by the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO—*q.v.*) and the Warsaw Pact (*q.v.*) states. The CFE Treaty sets ceilings from the Atlantic to the Urals on armaments essential for conducting a surprise attack and initiating large-scale offensive operations. The treaty includes a strict system of inspection and information exchange. The CFE Treaty entered into force in November 1992.

Cossacks—Originally an amalgamation of runaway peasants, fugitive slaves, escaped convicts, and derelict soldiers, primarily Ukrainian and Russian, settling frontier areas along the Don, Dnepr, and Volga rivers. They supported themselves by brigandry, hunting, fishing, and cattle raising. Later the Cossacks organized military formations for their own defense and as mercenaries. The latter groups were renowned as horsemen and were absorbed as special units in the Russian army.

Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon; also CEMA or CMEA)—A multilateral economic alliance created in January 1949, ostensibly to promote economic development of member states and to provide a counterweight to the United States-sponsored Marshall Plan. Shortly before its demise in January 1991, organization members included Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and

Vietnam.

Council of Europe—Founded in 1949, an organization overseeing intergovernmental cooperation in designated areas such as environmental planning, finance, sports, crime, migration, and legal matters. In 1995 the council had thirty-five members. Russia achieved membership in January 1996.

Cyrillic—An alphabet based on Greek characters that was created in the ninth century for translating Eastern Orthodox religious texts into Old Church Slavonic (*q.v.*). Named for Cyril, the leader of the first religious mission from Byzantium to the Slavic people, the alphabet is used in Russia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia. The Central Asian republics, Moldova, and Azerbaijan used a modified Cyrillic alphabet in the Soviet period.

demokratizatsiya (democratization)—Campaign initiated in the late 1980s by Mikhail S. Gorbachev to expand the participation of a variety of interest groups in political processes.

duma (pl., *dumy*)—An advisory council to the princes of Kievan Rus' and the tsars of the Russian Empire.

Duma (In full, Gosudarstvennaya duma—State Assembly)—Lower chamber of the legislature of Russia, established by Nicholas II after the Revolution of 1905, and functioning until 1917. Unlike advisory bodies such as the boyar (*q.v.*) *dumy* of the Kievan Rus' period and city *dumy* of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Duma originally was to be a national representative body with the power to approve legislation. The first two Dumy (1905–07) were quickly dissolved because they opposed tsarist policies; the next two (1907–17) were more conservative and served full five-year terms.

East Slavs—A subdivision of Slavic peoples including Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians.

European Union (EU)—Successor organization to the European Community. Began official operation in November 1993 to promote the economic unification of Europe, leading to a single monetary system and closer cooperation in matters of justice and foreign and security policies. In 1995 members were Austria, Belgium, Britain, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden.

five-year plan—A comprehensive plan that set the middle-

range economic goals in the Soviet Union. Once the Soviet regime stipulated plan figures, all levels of the economy, from individual enterprises to the national level, were obligated to meet those goals. Such plans were followed from 1928 until 1991.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—An integrated set of bilateral trade agreements among more than 100 contracting nations. Originally drawn up in 1947 to abolish quotas and reduce tariffs among members. The Soviet Union eschewed joining GATT until 1987, when it applied for membership. It achieved observer status in 1990. In January 1995, GATT became the World Trade Organization (WTO—*q.v.*).

general secretary—The title of the head of the Communist party Secretariat, who presided over the Politburo and was the Soviet Union's de facto supreme leader. From 1953 until 1966, the title was changed to first secretary.

glasnost—Russian term for public discussion of issues and accessibility of information to the public. Devised by Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev to provoke public discussion, challenge government and party bureaucrats, and mobilize support for his policies through the media.

Golden Horde—A federative Mongol state that extended from western Siberia to the Carpathian Mountains from the mid-thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth century. Generally, it exacted tribute and controlled external relations but allowed local authorities to decide internal affairs.

Great Terror—A period from about 1936 to 1938 of intense repression in the Soviet Union when millions were imprisoned, deported, and executed by Stalin's secret police for spurious political or economic crimes. The Great Terror affected all of Soviet society, including the highest levels of the party, government, and military.

gross domestic product (GDP)—A measure of the total value of goods and services produced by the domestic economy during a given period, usually one year. Obtained by adding the value contributed by each sector of the economy in the form of profits, compensation to employees, and depreciation (consumption of capital). Only domestic production is included, not income arising from investments and possessions owned abroad.

gross national product (GNP)—The total market value of final

goods and services produced by an economy during a year. Obtained by adding the gross domestic product (GDP—*q.v.*) and the income received from abroad by residents and subtracting payments remitted abroad to nonresidents. Real GNP is the value of GNP when inflation has been taken into account.

Group of Seven (G–7)—Formed in September 1985 to facilitate cooperation among the seven major noncommunist economic powers: Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Russia took part in numerous G–7 meetings, and when Japan ended its opposition, Russia achieved full membership in the renamed G–8 in 1997.

hard currency—Currency freely convertible and traded on international currency markets.

Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty (INF Treaty)—A bilateral treaty signed in Washington in December 1987, eliminating United States and Soviet land-based missiles with ranges between 500 and 5,500 kilometers. Most of the Soviet missiles were deployed inside the Soviet Union; all of the United States missiles were in Belgium, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), and Britain.

internal passport (*propiska*)—Government-issued document presented to officials on demand, identifying citizens and their authorized residence. Used in both the Russian Empire (*q.v.*) and the Soviet Union to restrict the movement of people. More limited use continued in some parts of Russia in the 1990s.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)—Established along with the World Bank (*q.v.*) in 1945, the IMF has regulatory surveillance and financial functions that apply to its more than 150 member countries. The IMF is responsible for stabilizing international exchange rates and payments. Its main function is to provide loans to its members (including industrialized and developing countries) when they experience balance of payments (*q.v.*) difficulties. These loans frequently have conditions that require substantial internal economic adjustments by the recipients, most of which are developing countries.

KGB (Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti)—Committee for State Security. The predominant Soviet agency for espionage and internal security since 1954. After the dissolution

of the Soviet Union, Russia inherited the central agency in Moscow. Governments of other former Soviet republics took over KGB property on their territory.

kolkhoz—*See* collective farm.

kray (territory)—Term for six widely dispersed administrative subdivisions whose boundaries are laid out primarily for ease of administration. Two include subdivisions based on nationality groups—one autonomous oblast (*q.v.*) and two autonomous regions (*okruga*—*q.v.*).

kremlin (*kreml'*)—Central citadel in many medieval Russian towns, usually located at a strategic spot along a river. Moscow's Kremlin is the seat and symbol of the Russian government.

Lisbon Protocol—Agreement that implemented the first phase of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START—*q.v.*) after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The protocol is an amendment to the START agreement by which Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakstan undertook the Soviet Union's obligations under START I.

Marshall Plan—A plan announced in June 1947 by United States secretary of state George Marshall for the reconstruction of Europe after World War II. The plan was extended to all European countries, but the Soviet Union refused the offer and forbade the East European countries to accept aid under the Marshall Plan. As a counterweight, the Soviet Union created the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon—*q.v.*).

Marxism/Marxist—The economic, political, and social theories of Karl Marx, a nineteenth-century German philosopher and socialist, especially his concept of socialism (*q.v.*).

Marxism-Leninism/Marxist-Leninist—The ideology of communism (*q.v.*) developed by Karl Marx and refined and adapted to social and economic conditions in Russia by Vladimir I. Lenin. Marxism-Leninism was the guiding ideology for the Soviet Union and its satellites.

Menshevik—A member of a wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party that existed until 1917. Unlike the Bolsheviks (*q.v.*), the Mensheviks believed in the gradual achievement of socialism (*q.v.*) by parliamentary methods. The term Menshevik is derived from the word *men'shinstvo* (minority).

near abroad (*blizhneye zarubezh'ye*)—Collective Russian term for

the other fourteen newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. Frequently used in policy discussions about Russia's continued domination of certain of those states, especially in Central Asia and the Caucasus.

New Economic Policy (Novaya ekonomicheskaya politika—NEP)—Instituted in 1921, it let peasants sell produce on an open market and permitted private ownership of small enterprises. Cultural restrictions also were relaxed during this period. NEP declined with the introduction of collectivization and was officially ended by Joseph V. Stalin in December 1929.

nomenklatura—The communist party's system of appointing reliable party members to key government positions and other important organizations. Also refers to the individuals as a social group.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—Founded in 1949, NATO served as the primary collective defense alliance in the containment of Soviet expansionism. Its military and administrative structure remain intact. The question of expanding NATO to include former Warsaw Pact (*q.v.*) members and successor states to the Soviet Union became a key issue in Russian foreign policy in the mid-1990s. In 1994 the alliance introduced a program for the former Soviet republics and the former Warsaw Pact countries called Partnership for Peace (*q.v.*).

Nuclear Nonpoliferation Treaty (NPT; full title Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons)—Went into effect in 1970 to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy over a period of twenty-five years. In May 1995, it was extended indefinitely. Only thirteen countries have not joined the NPT.

oblast—A major territorial and administrative subdivision in the newly independent states. Russia has forty-nine such divisions, which approximate provinces.

okrug (pl., *okruga*)—An autonomous territorial and administrative subdivision of a territory (*kray*—*q.v.*) or oblast (*q.v.*) in the Russian Federation that grants a degree of administrative autonomy to a nationality; most are in remote, sparsely populated areas. In 1997 the Russian Federation had ten such jurisdictions.

Old Believers—A sect of the Russian Orthodox Church that rejected the liturgical reforms made by Patriarch Nikon in the mid-seventeenth century.

Old Church Slavonic (also known as Old Church Slavic)—The first Slavic literary language, which influenced the development of the modern Slavic languages, including literary Russian. Used in liturgies of the Slavic Orthodox churches. After the twelfth century, known as Church Slavonic.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)—Founded by Western nations in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade. It also coordinated economic aid to less developed countries. In late 1996, twenty-eight nations were members, and Russia had been invited to join at an unspecified date.

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)—Established as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in July 1972 by Canada, the United States, and all of the European states except Albania. In August 1975, these states signed the Helsinki Accords, confirming existing, post-World War II boundaries and obligating signatories to respect basic principles of human rights. Subsequently the CSCE held sessions and consultations on European security issues. The Charter of Paris (1990) established the CSCE as a permanent organization. In 1992 new CSCE roles in conflict prevention and management were defined, potentially making the CSCE the center of a Europe-based collective security system—a role advocated by Russia in the mid-1990s. The CSCE became the OSCE in January 1995. As of 1996, fifty-three nations were members.

Partnership for Peace (PfP)—An initiative by NATO (*q.v.*) for the former Warsaw Pact (*q.v.*) member countries and the former Soviet republics, including Russia, to expand political and military cooperation and promote democratic principles in those countries. PfP aims to facilitate transparency in defense planning and budgeting, ensure democratic control of defense forces, maintain readiness to contribute to United Nations and OSCE (*q.v.*) operations, and develop cooperative military relations with NATO for peacekeeping, search-and-rescue, and humanitarian operations. All former Soviet and Warsaw Pact states were members by 1996, and many had conducted joint military exercises with NATO forces.

patriarch—Head of an independent Orthodox Church, such as the Russian Orthodox Church or one of the Uniate (*q.v.*) churches.

perestroika—Literally, rebuilding. Mikhail Gorbachev's campaign to revitalize the communist party, the Soviet economy, and Soviet society by reforming economic, political, and social mechanisms.

permafrost—Permanently frozen condition of soil except for surface soils that thaw when air temperatures rise above freezing. Thawing and refreezing cause instability of the soil, which greatly complicates the construction and maintenance of roads, railroads, and buildings. Permafrost covers roughly the northern one-third of the Russian Federation.

rayon—A low-level territorial and administrative subdivision for rural and municipal administration. A rural *rayon* is a county-sized district in a territory (*kray*—*q.v.*), oblast (*q.v.*), republic (*q.v.*), region (*okrug*—*q.v.*), or autonomous oblast. A city *rayon* is similar to a borough in some large cities in the United States.

republic—A territorial and administrative subdivision of the Russian Federation created to grant a degree of administrative autonomy to some large minority groups. In 1996 the Russian Federation had twenty-one republics (before 1992 called autonomous republics), including the war-torn Republic of Chechnya.

ruble—The monetary unit of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation; divided into 100 kopeks. The exchange rate as of July 1997 was 5,790 rubles per US$1. Historically, the ruble has not been considered hard currency (*q.v.*). It became convertible on the international market in June 1996.

ruble zone—Name given the group of newly independent states that continued to use the Soviet, then Russian, ruble as the primary currency for financial transactions after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The ruble zone existed from December 1991 until July 1993, when the Russian Central Bank withdrew all ruble notes issued before January 1993.

Russian Empire—Successor state to Muscovy. Formally proclaimed by Tsar Peter the Great in 1721 and significantly expanded during the reign of Catherine II, becoming a major multinational state. The empire's political structure collapsed with the revolution of February 1917, but most of its territory was included in the Soviet Union, which was established in 1922.

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (Rossiyskaya

Sovetskaya Federativnaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika—RSFSR). Official name of the largest of the fifteen union republics of the Soviet Union. Inhabited predominantly by Russians, the RSFSR comprised approximately 75 percent of the area of the Soviet Union, about 62 percent of its population, and more than 60 percent of its economic output.

serf—Peasant legally bound to the land. Serfs were emancipated by Tsar Alexander II in 1861.

Slavophiles—Members of the Russian intelligentsia in the mid-nineteenth century who advocated the preservation of Slavic, and specifically Russian, culture rather than opening Russian society and institutions to the influences of West European culture. Philosophically opposed to Westernizers (*q.v.*).

socialism/socialist—According to Marxism-Leninism (*q.v.*), the first phase of communism (*q.v.*). A transition from capitalism in which the means of production are state owned and whose guiding principle is "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." Soviet socialism bore scant resemblance to the democratic socialism that some West European countries adopted in the twentieth century.

sovkhoz—*See* state farm.

state farm (*sovetskoye khozyaystvo*—*sovkhoz*)—A government-owned and government-managed agricultural enterprise where workers are paid salaries. Still in existence in 1997.

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)—Name of two treaties. START I, signed in July 1991 by the Soviet Union and the United States, significantly reduced limits for the two parties' intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and their associated launchers and warheads; submarine-launched ballistic missile launchers and warheads; and heavy bombers and their armaments, including long-range nuclear air-launched cruise missiles. START II, signed in January 1993 by Russia and the United States but still unratified by Russia in mid-1997, further reduced strategic offensive arms of both sides by eliminating all ICBMs with multiple-warhead independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRVs) and reducing the overall total of warheads for each side to between 3,000 and 3,500. In 1997 an important part of Russia's debate over future military and foreign policy.

taiga—The extensive, sub-Arctic evergreen forest of the Soviet Union. The taiga, the largest of the five primary natural zones, lies south of the tundra (*q.v.*).

territory—*See kray.*

tundra—The treeless plain within the Arctic Circle that has low-growing vegetation and permanently frozen subsoil (permafrost—*q.v.*). The northernmost of the five primary natural zones of the Soviet Union.

Uniate—A branch of the Roman Catholic Church that preserves the Eastern Rite (Orthodox) liturgy and discipline but recognizes papal authority.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)—Successor state to the Russian Empire. Officially founded by Vladimir I. Lenin, head of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), in 1922. Dissolved on December 25, 1991.

value-added tax (VAT)—A tax applied to the additional value created at a given stage of production and calculated as a percentage of the difference between the product value at that stage and the cost of all materials and services purchased or introduced as inputs.

Warsaw Pact—Political-military alliance founded by the Soviet Union in 1955 as a counterweight to NATO (*q.v.*). Members included Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. Served as the Soviet Union's primary mechanism for keeping political and military control over Eastern Europe. Disbanded in March 1991.

Westernizers—Russian intellectuals in the mid-nineteenth century who emphasized Russia's cultural ties with the West as a vital element in the country's modernization and development. Opposed by the Slavophiles (*q.v.*).

White armies—Various noncommunist military forces that attempted to overthrow the Bolshevik (*q.v.*) regime during the Civil War (1918–21). Operating with no unified command, no clear political goal, and no supplies from the Russian heartland, they were defeated piecemeal by the Red Army.

World Bank—Name used to designate a group of four affiliated international institutions that provide advice on long-term finance and policy issues to developing countries: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association

(IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA). The IBRD, established in 1945, has the primary purpose of providing loans to developing countries for productive projects. The IDA, a legally separate loan fund administered by the staff of the IBRD, was set up in 1960 to furnish credits to the poorest developing countries on much easier terms than those of conventional IBRD loans. The IFC, founded in 1956, supplements the activities of the IBRD through loans and assistance designed specifically to encourage the growth of productive private enterprises in the less developed countries. The president and certain senior officers of the IBRD hold the same positions in the IFC. The MIGA, which began operating in June 1988, insures private foreign investment in developing countries against such noncommercial risks as expropriation, civil strife, and inconvertibility. The four institutions are owned by the governments of the countries that subscribe their capital. To participate in the World Bank group, member states must first belong to the International Monetary Fund (IMF—*q.v.*).

World Trade Organization (WTO)—The legal and institutional foundation of the multilateral trading system and successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT—*q.v.*) as of January 1, 1995. The WTO acts as a forum for multinational trade negotiations, administers dispute settlements, reviews the trade policies of member nations, and works with organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (*q.v.*) and the World Bank (*q.v.*) in developing coherent global economic policies. The WTO also covers new commercial activities beyond the jurisdiction of GATT, such as intellectual property rights, services, and investment. Russia sought membership in 1996, but it had not been accepted as of mid-1997.

Yalta Conference—Meeting of Josph V. Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin D. Roosevelt in February 1945 that redrew post-World War II national borders and established spheres of influence in Europe.

Index

Abkhazian rebels, xciv–xcv; Russian military support for, xciv–xcv, 448, 451
ABM Treaty. *See* Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
abortion, 158–59; abolished, 74, 159; legalized, 70, 159, 270; rate, 159, 270–71; under Stalin, 70, 74
Academy of Fine Arts, 24, 233
Academy of Sciences: brain drain from, 156–57; foundation of Russian, 387; founded, 22–23
Academy of the National Economy: 266
acmeists, 225–26
acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), 257, 273–74; attitudes toward, 273–74; death from, 274; infection rate, lxiii–lxiv, ciii, 274; information about, 274; laws against transmittal, 273; prevention, 273–74; transmittal, 274
Administrative Affairs Directorate, 395, 396
Adygea, Republic of, 175, 176; area, 176; ethnic groups, 176; language, 176, 177; population, 176; religion, 176
Adygh language, 177
Adygh people, 172, 176
Aeroflot, 360
Afanas'yev, Yuriy: in Interregional Group, 110
Afghanistan: border, 570; invasion of, lvi, 57, 94, 95, 101, 454, 494, 546; refugees from, 162; withdrawal of troops from, lvi, 103, 163, 477
Africa: relations with, 478
Aga Buryat Autonomous Region, 175
Agrarian Party: in 1993 elections, 416; in 1995 elections, 419
agricultural development: under Brezhnev, 96; investment in, 96
agricultural estates, 34
agricultural policy, 325–30; under Soviet system, 326–27; under Yeltsin, 327–30
agricultural production, lxvii, 330; under First Five-Year Plan, 301; under Gorbachev, 327; of grain, 41–42; under Yeltsin, lxxiv, 327–28
agricultural products (*see also under individual crops*), 325; corn, 325; exports, 42; flax, 325; fruits, 325; grain, 65, 325; prices, 329; requisitions, 65; vegetables, 325
agricultural reforms, 56, 90–91, 325–26; under Gorbachev, 327; impediments to, 329; under Yeltsin, 328–30
agriculture (*see also* peasants), 183, 323–30; under Chernenko, 100; collectivized, 56, 70, 71–72, 124, 159, 300, 301, 325; denationalized, 66; employment in, 323, 347; energy consumption by, 338; under five-year plans, 55; under Khrushchev, 56, 90–91; inefficiencies in, 4, 34; in Mordovia, 186; neglected, 82; under New Economic Program, 66; pollution from, lxi, 140; in Russian Empire, 4; in Sakha, 190; under Soviet system, 325; under Stalin, 55–56, 70, 82, 326; in Tatarstan, 187; taxes on, 347; under war communism, 300; under Yeltsin, 318
Agro-Industrial Bank (Agroprombank), 340, 343
Agroprombank. *See* Agro-Industrial Bank
Agul people, 179
AIDS. *See* acquired immune deficiency syndrome
Aigun, Treaty of (1858), 38
airborne troops, 539–41; mission, 540–41; reorganization, 539–40
air defense forces, 537–38; conscripts, 537; districts, 538; matériel, 538, 544; mission, 537, 538; personnel, 537; readiness, 544–45; training, 544
air forces, 535–37; aircraft, 519; bases, 537; commands, 535, 536–37; matériel, 537, 543; personnel, 535; organization, 535–37; readiness, 543; shortages, 548; training, 536, 548
airline industry, 360–63; aircraft of, 363
air pollution: lxi, 123, 137, 138–39, 146,

267
airports, 360
Akayev, Askar, 509
Akhmatova, Anna, 226
Aksyonov, Vladimir, 227
Alania. *See* North Ossetia
Alaska, 30; acquired, 28; sold, 38
Albania: Soviet influence in, 83, 89
alcohol, lxiii, 271–73; availability, 97, 244; campaigns against, 271, 303, 306; consumption, ciii, 271–72; substitutes, 271, 272
alcoholism, 97, 267, 271; death from, lxiv, 160–61
Aleksey (son of Peter I), 23
Aleksey I (Romanov) (r. 1645–76), 17, 20
Aleksiy II, Patriarch, lxv, 209
Alexander I (r. 1801–25), 29; death of, 30
Alexander II (r. 1855–81): assassination of, 37, 41; attempt to assassinate, 36; reforms under, 34–37, 217
Alexander III (r. 1881–94), 37; attempt to assassinate, 41; counterreform under, 37
Alexandra, Tsarina: executed, 64; in World War I, 50
Algeria: arms sales to, 479–80, 521
Aliyev, Heydar, 452, 506
Alliance of Orthodox Brotherhoods, 209
Allied Powers: support for White Army, 63
All-Russian Congress for the Protection of Nature, 150
All-Russian Television and Radio Company, 425
All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) (*see also* Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Russian Communist Party [Bolshevik]), 68, 115; Jewish sections of, 218; name changed, 85; power of, 74
All-Union League of Seventh-Day Adventists, 213
Altaic peoples, 172, 189; distribution, 172
Altay. *See* Gorno-Altay
Altay Mountains, 130, 131
Ames, Aldrich, 456
Amur River, 133
Analytical Center for Social and Economic Policies, 573
Andreyev, Leonid, 226
Andropov, Yuriy V., 57, 98, 99–100; anticorruption campaign of, 99; chairman of Presidium, 99; death of, 100; domestic policy of, 99; leadership changes by, 99; as mentor of Gorbachev, 100; as rival of Chernenko, 99
Andrusovo, Treaty of (1667), 19
Angara River: hydroelectric plant on, 338
Angola: refugees from, 162; Soviet influence in, 94, 494
Anna (r. 1730–40), 23
Anna Karenina (Tolstoy), 225
Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, xci, 95, 454; as foreign-policy problem, 438
Anti-Comintern Pact (1936), 76
anti-Semitism, 216, 219; under Brezhnev, 93
APEC. *See* Asia-Pacific Economic Conference
April Days, 59
April Theses (Lenin), 60
Arab-Israeli dispute: Soviet role in, xcvi, xcviii, 94, 479, 480
Arabic language, 179; broadcasts in, 425
Aral Sea: desiccation of, 123, 137, 144
Arbatov, Aleksey, 548
architecture, 232–34; Christian, 232; constructivist, 234; under Peter the Great, 232; Russian Revival, 233; socialist realist, 234
Arctic drainage basin, 132
Arctic Ocean: pollution of, lxi, 142, 147; ports on, 363
Argentina: foreign policy toward, 481; trade with, 482
Argumenty i fakty, 423
aristocracy: evolution of, 12–13
armed forces: attitudes toward, lv–lvi, 423; bases, 451, 505; budget, lvii, 489; buildup, 57; casualties, 492, 493, 494, 502, 546; chain of command, 525; commander in chief, 396, 525; command structure, 525–27; contract personnel, 550; corruption, lvi, lviii–lix; crime, 545–47; decline, 489–90; desertions from, 549; established, 490; foreign policy role, 490; hazing, 546, 550; historical background, 490–94; housing, 282–83; human rights violations, 255; language, 221; matériel, 518–20,

541; modernization, 492, 494; morale, lvi; in near abroad, lvi, 447–48, 451, 456, 490; personnel, lvii, 524; occupation of White House, 390–91; performance, 541–42; prospects, 551–52; purges, 73, 493; recruitment, 490; reductions, lvii, cii, 437, 548; reforms, lvii, lxxxiii, cii, 34, 36, 524, 541, 548–50; religion in, 209; restructuring, lviii, cii, 492–93, 500, 548–49; service requirements, 18; structure, 524; training, 504, 541, 547–48; troop support elements, 542–45; withdrawal of, 501–2; women in, 524, 550

Armenia, 505–6; aid to, 506; arms sales to, ci; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 118, 449; peacekeeping forces in, c–ci, 505, 529

Armenia, Republic of: autonomy for, 108; conflict with Azerbaijan, 433; military assistance for, xcv; popular fronts in, 113; refugees from, 162; sovereignty, 114; in Soviet Union, 63, 66, 385

Armenian Apostolic Church, 212; in Russian Empire, 28

Armenians: emigration by, 161; geographic distribution of, 176; immigration by, 164; nationality clashes of, 113; as percentage of population, 173, 176, 182; pogrom against, 113; political parties of, 42

army (ground forces), 527–31; commander in chief, 527; conscription, 22, 255, 527; deployment, 237; districts, 527–31; divisions, 529; matériel, 518–20; mutinies, 45; officers, 22; personnel, 527, 545; peacekeeping units, 529; under Peter the Great, 22; purges, 493; readiness, 545; restructuring, 22; shortages, 545, 550; special units, 529; training, 548

Article 70 (of 1978 Constitution), 584

arts, xcvi; ancient, 232; under Brezhnev, 97–98; collectivization of, 74; cultural thaw in, 87; erotic, 256; impressionist, 233; influences on, 232; realist, 233, 234; under Stalin, 70, 74

ASEAN. *See* Association of Southeast Asian Nations

Ash-shafii Islamic Institute, 216

Asia: exports to, 474; foreign policy in, 469, 473–77, 483; Russian influence in, 474; Soviet military presence in, 473

Asia-Pacific Economic Conference (APEC), 474

Association of Ethnic Koreans, 192

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), xcv, 438; bilateral ties with, 475

Astrakhan': pollution in, 139

Astrakhan' Khanate: annexed, 14

Atomic Energy, Ministry of (Minatom), 149, 337

Austerlitz, Battle of (1805), 29

Austria (*see also* Austria-Hungary): border with Austria, 103; and partition of Poland, 25; in Quadruple Alliance, 30; relations with, 28, 29, 88

Austria-Hungary (*see also* Austria): allied with Germany, 40; Bosnia annexed by, 48–49; in League of the Three Emperors, 38–39; relations with, 37, 39

autocracy: powers of, 3

automotive industry, 352–53; demand, 352–53; output, 352

Avar people, 5, 179; as percentage of population, 173

Avtovaz. *See* Volga Automotive Plant

Avvakum, 20

Azerbaijan: border of Russia with, 126, 569; in Commonwealth of Independent States, c, ci, 118, 449; conflict with Armenia, 433; cooperation with Georgia and Ukraine, ci; ethnic conflict in, 569; influence of Turkey in, 505, 506; natural resources, xcii, 335; peacekeeping forces in, 458, 459; refugees from, 162; relations with, 453; trade agreements, ci; treaty with (1997), ci; troop withdrawal from, 501

Azerbaijan, Republic of: autonomy, 108; immigration from, 166; nationality clashes in, 113, 114; popular fronts in, 113; in Soviet Union, 63, 66, 385

Azerbaijani people: geographic distribution of, 179

Babel', Isaak, 217, 226

Bahrain: relations with, 478

Baikal, Lake, 131–32, 134; pollution of 138, 144

Baikal mountain system, 131
Bakunin, Mikhail, 40
Balakirev, Miliy, 228
Balakovo nuclear reactor, 337
Balanchine, George, 231
Balkan War: First (1912), 49; Second (1913), 49
Balkans: policy on, 39, 48–49, 182
Balkar people, 172; exiled, 180; as percentage of population, 180
ballet, 32, 230–32; introduced, 230; schools, 230–31; socialist realism in, 231; in Soviet Union, 231
Ballet Russe, 231
Baltic Fleet, 509, 532, 533
Baltic Sea: pollution of, 142
Baltic tribes, 174
Bank for International Settlements, 342
banking, lxviii–lxix, 340–47; nationalized, 300; reform, 341–43, 380; services, 344; under Soviet system, 340
banks: commercial, 343–44; foreign, 344; international, 44; land, 36; money laundering by, 576; reorganization of, 343; under Soviet system, 340; state, 36
Baptist Church, 212; members of, 212
Barannikov, Viktor, 560; conflict with Yeltsin, 560–62; dismissed, 562
Barge Haulers on the Volga (Repin), 233
Barsukov, Mikhail, 566, 567
Baryatinskiy, Aleksandr, 38
Baryshnikov, Mikhail, 231
Bashkir language, 221
Bashkir people, 172, 184; origins, 184; as percentage of population, 153, 173, 185; social structure, 185
Bashkiria. *See* Bashkortostan
Bashkortostan, Republic of, 175, 184–85; area, 184; ethnic groups, 185; natural resources, 185; population, 185; position in Russian Federation, 414; religion, 185; sovereignty declaration, 196, 414
Basic Curriculum of the General Secondary School, 262
Baturin, Yuriy, lviii, lxxxiii, 501
Bazhenov, Vasiliy, 233
Beijing, Treaty of (1860), 38
Belarus (*see also* Belorussia): border of Russia with, 126; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 118, 388, 449; customs union with, xciii, 452; integration with Russia, 452; nuclear weapons in, 452, 513, 539; relations with, xciii–xciv, 452; trade with, 376
Belarusian people, 123, 172; origins, 9, 174; as percentage of population, 153, 173, 183; in Russian Empire, 25, 28
Belgium: investment from, 378
Belgorod Oblast: population growth, 157
Belinskiy, Vissarion, 224
Bellona Foundation, lxi, 147
Belorussia (*see also* Belarus): political parties in, 42
Belorussian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 212
Belorussian Republic: autonomy, 108, 114; nationalism in, 114; in Soviet Union, 55, 63, 66, 385
Beloyarsk nuclear reactor, 337
Beloye, Lake, 134
Belukha, Mount, 131
Benois, Alexandre, 231
Berezovskiy, Boris, lxxxi, c, 372
Beria, Lavrenti: 85, 86
Berlin: airlift, 84; blockade, 84; Soviet capture of, 79; zones of occupation, 83–84
Berlin Wall: built, 90; opened, 104
Bessarabia: annexed, 29, 77
Bezlepkina, Lyudmila, 255
Bilibino nuclear reactor, 337
Billington, James, 208
Birobidzhan. *See* Jewish Autonomous Oblast
birth control, 269–71; and abortion, 159, 270; availability, 159, 270
biznesmeny, 241
Black Earth Association, lxxxvi, 414
Black Hundreds, 217
black market, 193, 574
Black Repartition (Chernyy peredel), 41
Black Sea: access to, 37; fishing in, 142; pollution of, 138, 142; ports on, 363; resort area, 134
Black Sea Fleet, xcii, ci, 453, 533–34
Black Tuesday, 311, 314, 341
Blok, Aleksandr, 225
Bloody Sunday, 45
Bogolyubskiy, Andrey, 9
Bolshevik government: and dictatorship of the proletariat, 61–62; economy under, 300; moved to Moscow, 62; reli-

gion under, 206; revolutionary decrees of, 61
Bolshevik Revolution (1917), 60–62, 492; initiated, 61
Bolsheviks (*see also* Russian Communist Party [Bolshevik]), 43, 55; outlawed, 60; in Petrograd Soviet, 59; popularity of, 59
Bol'shoy Theater, 232
border problems: with China, xcviii, 93–94; with Estonia, xcii; with Latvia, xcii; with Poland, 63
borders, 125; of Afghanistan, 570; with Azerbaijan, 126, 569; with Belarus, 126; with China, 126, 469, 470, 473, 529, 570; disputed, 569; drawing of, 30, 175; with Estonia, 125, 569; with Finland, 126; with Georgia, 126, 569; with Japan, 473; with Kazakstan, 125; with Latvia, 125, 569; with Lithuania, 126; with Mongolia, 126, 473; with North Korea, 126; with Norway, 126; with Poland, 126; of Russia, 125–26; of Soviet Russia, 63–64; of Tajikistan, 508, 570; with Ukraine, 126, 569; undefined, 569
border security, xcviii, 125, 436, 448, 508, 529, 567–70; decline in, 162, 544, 575; in military doctrine, 497; in near abroad, 451; policy, 569–70
Boris Godunov (Musorgskiy), 228
Borodin, Aleksandr, 228
Bosnia and Herzegovina: annexed by Austria-Hungary, 48–49; NATO air strikes on, 464, 468; peacekeeping forces in, xci, 460, 468; rebellions in, 39, 220, 459
Bosnian Peace Implementation Force, 464, 497
bourgeoisie: and political activity, 42
Boxer Rebellion (1900), 44
boyars, 13, 14, 15
Bratsk Aluminum, 352
Bratsk Reservoir, 134
Brazil: foreign policy toward, 481; trade with, 482
Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of (1918), 62; repudiated, 63
Brezhnev, Leonid I., 56–57, 91–98; background, 92, 113; as chairman of presidium, 92; cult of personality, 98; culture under, 221; death of, 98; economy under, 57, 95–97, 240; as first secretary, 92; foreign policy of, 56, 440, 469; religion under, 98, 207; scandals surrounding, 98
Brezhnev Doctrine, 94, 465; repudiated, 103
Britain: in Caspian Pipeline Consortium, c; Continental Blockade against, 29; in Limited Test Ban Treaty, 90; in Quadruple Alliance, 30; relations with, 28, 29, 37, 39, 43, 48, 69, 79–81; trade with, 375; in Triple Entente, 48; in World War I, 50
Brodsky, Joseph, 227
Brothers Karamazov (Dostoyevskiy), 225
Buddhism, 191, 206; and ecumenism, 211
Budennovsk hostage crisis, 405, 502, 503, 567, 575, 578
budget deficit, ciii; efforts to finance, 312, 342; as percentage of gross domestic product, 308, 310; under Yeltsin, 308
Bukhara Khanate. *See* Bukhoro Khanate
Bukharin, Nikolay, 43, 67; executed, 73; rehabilitated, 108; purged, 71, 72
Bukhoro (Bukhara) Khanate: annexed, 38
Bukovina: annexed, 77
Bulgakov, Mikhail, 226, 227
Bulganin, Nikolay: as prime minister, 86; resignation, 88
Bulgaria: in Balkan wars, 49; environmental protection in, 142; NATO membership, lxxxviii; rebellions in, 39; relations with, 39; in revolutions of 1989, 104; Russian protection of, 39; Soviet influence in, 83, 465
Bulgarians, 173
Bund (workers' group), 42, 43
Bunin, Ivan, 226
bureaucracy: expansion of, 17; restructured, 304; service by nobles in, 22; strength of, 17
Buryat people, 172; geographic distribution of, 175; as percentage of population, 188
Buryatia, Republic of, 175, 188–89; area, 188; economy, 189; ethnic groups, 175, 188; natural resources, 189; population, 188; sovereignty, 196
Bush, George H.W.: summit meeting

with Gorbachev, 104, 455; summit meeting with Yeltsin, lxxxvii, lxxxix, 457
Bykov, Andrey, 227
Byzantine Empire: influences of, 3; treaty with, 6

cabinet. *See* Government
cadres: stability of, 92–93
Cambodia: ties with, 477
Cam Ranh Bay, 475
Canada: trade with, 375
canals, 133
cancer, 268
Carter, Jimmy, 95
Caspian Flotilla, 532, 534
Caspian Pipeline Consortium, c
Caspian Sea: access to, xcii; oil fields, xcii; pollution of, 138, 142; rising level of, 143–43, 144–45
Catherine I (r. 1725–27), 23
Catherine II (the Great) (r. 1762–96), 24–27; armed forces under, 491; art under, 233; death of, 28; literature under, 223; reforms under, 26–27
Caucasian languages, 220
Caucasus (*see also under individual republics*): ethnic groups, 172, 200; expansion into, 38, 201; military intervention in, 490; natural resources, 201; revolts in, 38; in Russian Federation, 200–201
Caucasus Mountains, 130, 131
Caucasus peoples, 172
Cecchetti, Enrico, 231
censorship: lifted, 40; prohibited, 420; religious, 37; in Russian Empire, 28, 36, 37
Center for Gender Studies, 252, 253–54
Center for Russian Environmental Policy, 146
Center for the Study of Drug Addiction, 575–76
Central Asia: annexed, 39, 66, 491; emigration from, 450; ethnic groups exiled to, 177, 180, 181, 182, 191, 198; expansion into, 38; foreign policy toward, 451–52, 510; industry moved to, 78, 301; military intervention in, 490, 491, 498, 507–9; relations with, 479, 483
Central Bank, Law on the (1995), 342
Central Chernozem Economic Region, 323
Central Electoral Commission, 397
Central Europe: commercial relations with, 374–75, 466; in NATO, 456, 458; relations with, 465–68; trade with, 375
centralized economic planning (*see also under individual plans*), 297; advantages of, 298; under Brezhnev, 96; under Khrushchev, 91; legacy of, 297; process, 297–98; under Stalin, 55–56, 72; targets, 298
Central Russia Association, lxxxvi, 414
Central Siberian Plateau, 129, 130, 131
CFE Treaty. *See* Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty
Chabad Lubavitch, 219
Chagall, Marc, 233
Chany, Lake, 134
charities, 249, 293, 420; attitudes toward, 293
Charter to the Nobility, 26
Charter to the Towns, 26
Chaykovskiy. *See* Tchaikovsky
Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Oblast, 177, 198
Chechen people, 172; conflict with Russians, 199; exiled, 177, 198; geographic distribution, 175, 177–78, 179, 181; languages, 178; as percentage of population, 173, 181; population, 177; religion, 178; social structure, 178
Chechnya, Republic of, 175, 177–78; aid to, c; corruption, 198; crime, 198, 576; elections, lxxxi; ethnic groups, lxxxi, 174, 177–78; immigration from, 166; independence declared, lv, lxxxi, 171, 175, 177, 178, 194, 197, 198–200, 414, 504, 571; infant mortality, 270; pipelines through, 502; pollution in, 140; population, 157; revolts in, 38, 178; strategic importance, 502; terrorism in, lxxx–lxxxi, c, 201, 575
Chechnya conflict, 198, 199, 570–71; armistice protocols, 503; arms sales in, 547; casualties, 502–3; causes, 576; cease-fire, lxxx, lxxxviii; hostage crises, 405, 502, 567, 571, 575, 578; human rights abuses, 421, 460, 462; ineffectiveness of Russian troops in, lv, lvii, 503–4, 541–42; intelligence service in,

lx, 563; negotiations in, lxxxi, xcix–c; reactions to, lxxvi, lxxvii, lxxxvii, 199–200, 254, 255, 423, 459, 462, 480, 503, 510, 550, 564; refugees from, lxxxi, 200; security forces sent to, 442, 489, 490, 498, 502, 540, 541, 571, 576, 579, 581; troop withdrawal from, lxxx, 503
Chechnya-Ichkeria, Republic of, lxxxi, xcix–c
Cheka (secret police), 62
Chekhov, Anton, 225
Chelyabinsk: population, 154
chemicals industry, 178, 182, 355–56; under First Five-Year Plan, 301; investment in, 355, 378; in Mordovia, 186; output, 355–56; in Russia, 355; in Tatarstan, 187
Chemical Weapons Convention, xcvii
Chemyakhin, Mikhail, 234
Cheremiss people. *See* Mari people
Cheremkhovo coal fields, 336
Cherepovets: metallurgical combine, 351
Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, 176
Cherkessia: revolts in, 38
Cherkess (Circassian) people, 172, 181–82; as percentage of population, 182; tribal groups of, 182
Chernenko, Konstantin U., 57, 98, 100–101; as rival of Andropov, 99
Chernobyl' Nuclear Power Station disaster, 107, 137, 147, 337
Chernomyrdin, Viktor, lxx, lxxxvii, lxxxix, 150, 336; party of, lxxvii, 417–18; as prime minister, lxviii, cii, 310, 389, 400, 444, 457–58, 479; presidential aspirations, lxxxii; staff of, 400
Chernyshevskiy, Nikolay, 40, 225
Chernyy peredel. *See* Black Repartition
The Cherry Orchard (Chekhov), 225
Chiang Kai-shek, 70
Chicherin, Georgiy, 69
children: attitudes toward, 250; custody of, 250; daycare for, lxii, 262–63, 269–71, 289, 290; death of, 269–70; support for, civ, 286, 288, 289, 291
Chile: trade with, 482
China: relations with, 19, 38, 48; as security threat, 41
China, People's Republic of: aid to, 471; arms sales to, lix, 469–70, 474, 510, 521; border disputes with, xcviii, 93–94, 433, 469, 470, 570; border with Russia, 126, 529; defense treaty with, 84; investment by, 197; migration to, 156; military cooperation with, 470; refugees from, 162; relations with Kazakstan, 450; relations with Russia, lxxxvii, xc, xcv, 84, 89, 93, 103, 433, 438, 469–71, 473, 474, 484, 510; Soviet involvement in, 56, 69–70; state visits with, 470; summit meeting with, 469; trade with, 470
China, Republic of (Taiwan): relations with, 433; trade with, 470
Chinese-language broadcasts, 425
Chirac, Jacques, xc
Chita Oblast: ethnic groups, 175; population growth, 157
Christianity (*see also under individual denominations*): adoption of, 3, 7, 173; art and architecture, 232; regional distribution, 180
Christian Mercy Society, 293
Christian missions. *See* missionaries
Christ the Savior Cathedral, 209, 320
Chubays, Anatoliy, lxx, cii, 313, 315, 381; as chief of presidential administration, 394; dismissed, 316; power of, lxxxii–lxxxiii
Chukchi Autonomous Region, 175; sovereignty declaration, 196
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 213
Church of Scientology, 210
Chuvashia, Republic of, 175, 185–86; area, 185; industry, 185; natural resources, 196; sovereignty movement, 196
Chuvash language, 196
Chuvash people, 172, 185; language, 185; origins, 185; population, 153, 173, 185, 186, 187; religion, 185;
Circassian people. *See* Cherkess people
CIS. *See* Commonwealth of Independent States
citizenship: dual, for Russians, 421, 448, 452; for immigrants, 163
civil code, 402
civil rights, 419–22; under constitution of 1936, 73–74; under constitution of 1993, 419–20; under criminal code, 584–85; guarantees, 420–21; violations, 421

Civil War (1918–21), 55, 62–65, 185, 300
Clean Hands Campaign, lx, cii
climate, 134–36; permafrost, 134, 136; precipitation, 136; seasons, 134–36; impact, 135–36; temperature, 130, 134–36
Clinton, William J.: summit meetings with Yeltsin, lxxxvii, 457–60
coal (*see also* energy), 336–37; consumption, 332, 338; geographic distribution of, 180, 321; miners' unions, 249; mining, 137, 189; production, 34, 41, 337; reserves, 336; strikes, lxxv, ciii, 350
Code of Criminal Procedure (1992), 585
Cold War, 495–96; ended, 104, 432, 455; and foreign policy, 56, 431, 432, 471; onset of, 82–85
Collective Security Agreement (1993), 449
collectivization (*see also* farms, collective): of agriculture, 56, 70, 71–72, 124, 159, 300, 301, 326; of arts, 74; forced, 56, 70, 71–72, 124, 159, 300, 326; resistance to, 72; of science, 74
Comecon. *See* Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
Cominform. *See* Communist Information Bureau
Comintern. *See* Communist International
Commercial Partnership Program, 459
Commission on Ecological Security, lxi–lxii, 150
Committee for State Security (KGB) (*see also* police, secret), lix, 387; Border Troops, 567, 568; branches, 556; directorates, 560, 564, 566; dismantled, 555, 559; domestic intelligence, 556–57; established, 555; First Chief Directorate, 557, 560; foreign intelligence, 556; infiltration by, 207; Ninth Directorate, 558; personnel, 556; repression of dissidents, 100; Seventh Chief Directorate, 556; successor agencies, 555, 559–60; structure, 556
Committee for the Protection of State Borders, 568
Committee on Fishing, 141
Committee on Operational Questions, 396
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 504–9; brain drain from, 156–57; created, liv, 118, 479; debt, xciii; as foreign policy problem, 438; integration, 449–50; members, 118, 388, 450; relations with, 435–36, 438, 448–49; Russian influence in, c, ci, 504; treaty obligations, 498
communes, 18; breakup of, 47
communications. *See* telecommunications
Communications, Law on (1995), 370, 371
Communications, Ministry of, 368, 370
Communications Investment Joint-Stock Company (Svyazinvest), 317; privatized, lxx, cv, 317
Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), 84
Communist International (Comintern), 63; abolished, 84
Communist Party of Germany: aid to Nazis, 75
Communist Party of Kazakstan, 113
Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), lxxiii, 317; banned, liv, 398; budget vote (1997), lxxiii; impeachment motions, lxxxiv; in 1993 elections, 416; in 1995 elections, 419; in 1996 elections, lxxvii; party reform (1996), lxxviii; in regional elections of 1997, lxxxiv; support for, lxxviii, 438
Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), 85; banned, 118; crimes revealed, 108; factions, 112; party Congresses, 85, 87, 102, 109, 431; purges, 56, 57; reorganized, 91
Communist Youth League (Komsomol), 208
Concept for Integrated Economic Development of the CIS, xciv
Concord in the Name of Russia, 417
Confederation of Mountain Peoples of the North Caucasus, 201, 505
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), lxxx; recognition of CIS, 449; treaty obligations, 498
Congress of Berlin (1878), 39
Congress of People's Deputies: formed, 110, 386; opposition groups, 110; sessions, 110
Congress of Soviets, Second (1917), 61
Congress of Vienna (1815), 30

Conoco, 339
Constantine, 30
Constituent Assembly, 58
constitutional convention, 390
Constitutional Court: judges, 393, 403; jurisdiction, 408
Constitutional Democratic Party (Kadets), 45; in First Duma, 46
constitution of 1905, 5, 45–46; suffrage under, 46
constitution of 1918: civil rights under, 64
constitution of 1924, 386
constitution of 1936, 73; civil rights under, 73–74; elections under, 73
constitution of 1977 (Soviet Union), 93; women under, 251–52
constitution of 1978 (Russian Republic), 388, 391, 409, 410
constitution of 1993, 385, 391–408; civil rights under, 419–20; education under, 259–60; environment under, 151; ethnic groups in, 175; executive branch under, lxxxiv; finance under, 341; foreign policy under, 439; form of government under, 391; government structure under, 408–9; land ownership under, 284; language under, 221, 391; local jurisdictions under, 408–11; nationality under, 219; political parties under, 415; privacy under, 420; religion under, 172, 210
Construction Bank (Stroybank), 340
construction industry: employment in, 347
Consultative Council, lxxxiii
consumer goods: under Chernenko, 100; demand for, cvi; under First Five-Year Plan, 301; under Gorbachev, 306; production, lxvii, 72, 96, 321; quality, cvi, 321, 376; shortages, 71, 82, 97, 306; under Stalin, 82
Continental Blockade, 29
Control Directorate, 395
Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty (CFE Treaty), 456; compliance with, lxxxviii, 105, 463; as foreign policy problem, 438, 460, 512; signed, 104; violations, 505
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (1973), 153n
Cooperation Association of North Caucasus Republics, Territories, and Oblasts, lxxxvi, 414
Cooperatives, Law on (1987), 304–5
corruption, lxxiv, xcvi, xcvii, cii; causes, 580, 581; in Chechnya, 198; in energy industry, 336; in government, lxxii, 152, 561, 578; in health care, 278; in housing, 284, 285; in industry, lxxi; by *mafiya*, cii, 320; in military, lvi, lviii–lix; in police force, lx, lxxii, cii, 578, 580, 581; in privatization, lxix–lxx, lxxvii, 316–17, 561; and reform, 99; in Soviet Union, 572; in tax collection, 313; war against, 561–62, 563
Cossacks: Ukrainian, 18
cotton, 491; price, 355
Council for Cooperation with Religious Associations, 211–12
Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), lxvii–lxviii, 465; dissolved, 104
Council of Churches of Evangelical Baptist Christians, 212
Council of Europe, 438, 462; admission to, lxxxviii, cii, 421, 484, 588; aid from, 463
Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), 61
Council on Foreign Policy, 446
coup d'état: by Beria, 86; of 1762, 24; of 1801, 29
coup d'état of August 1991, liv, lxxvi, 57, 117–18, 387, 467, 578; instigators of, 117; opposition to, 117, 566
courts: backlog in, lxi, 407; number of, 407
court system: appeals, 422; conviction rate, 422; legal aid, 422; trial by jury, 407, 421, 587, 591
CPSU. *See* Communist Party of the Soviet Union
credit, lxviii–lxix; control and issuance of, 340; increased, 310, 311; policy, 309
crime (*see also* corruption; internal security), 571–77; auto theft, 573; in Chechnya, 198; crackdown on, 442, 572, 583, 584; drug-related, 574; economic, 563, 571; murder, 160, 573, 574; rate, 239, 572, 573; by soldiers, 542, 545–47, 582; solving, 572, 584; in Soviet system, 571–72, 578; statistics,

572–73; by teenagers, 572; types, 572; violent, 572, 573, 580; wave, lx–lxi, lxxvi, cii, 555, 572–77, 591; white-collar, 555, 572
crime, organized (*see also mafiya*), 555, 573–74, 580; contract killings by, 574, 580; crackdown on, 422, 473, 559, 561–62; drug trafficking by, 576; influence of, 573; legality of, 583; in Moscow, 320; number of gangs, 574; police cooperation with, lx, lxxi–lxxii, 574, 580; and prostitution, 253; protection money to, cii, 242, 244, 320; in Soviet system, 578; targets of, 574; terrorism by, 575
Crimea: annexed, 25; ethnic Russians in, 453; status of, 433
Crime and Punishment (Dostoyevskiy), 225
Crimean War (1853–56), 4, 33, 491
Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, lxi, 583; civil rights under, 584; draft, 584, 585
criminal correction code, lxi
criminal justice system (*see also* judiciary), 577–78, 586–88; arrest under, 586; attorneys in, 587; backlogs in, 407; capital punishment in, cii, 421–22, 462, 588; defendants' rights in, 583, 585, 586, 591; human rights abuses in, 583–84, 588; judges in, 393, 403, 406, 407, 408, 588; protections in, 421–22; public prosecutors in, 587–88; punishment in, 422; reform of, lx; trials in, 407, 421, 586, 587
criminal law reform, 583–85
Croats, 173
CSCE. *See* Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
Cuba: arms sales to, 521; missile crisis in, 481; nuclear sales to, 460, 483; relations with, 88, 481, 482; subsidies to, 482; trade with, 483; troop withdrawal from, 501
Cuban missile crisis, 90
Cui, César, 228
cult of personality: of Brezhnev, 98; of Stalin, 74, 87
culture: under Brezhnev, 97–98; reforms in, 36; under Stalin, 70; suppression of non-Russian, 221; westernization of, 4
Culture, Ministry of: communications oversight by, 368
currency: under Alexander II, 36; capital flight, civ; control and issuance, 340; convertibility, 380; depreciation, lxxii; exchange rate, lxxii, 299, 309, 314, 342, 378; under Gorbachev, 107; stabilization, 314; value, 311–12
Cyprus, Republic of: arms sales to, lix
Cyrillic alphabet, 7; development, 222
Czechoslovakia: military relations with, 76; in "Velvet Revolution," 104; Soviet influence in, 83, 465; Soviet invasion of, 94, 461, 465, 494; Soviet troops withdrawn from, 104, 163, 501
Czech people, 173
Czech Republic: NATO membership, lxxxviii; trade with, 375

Dagestan, Republic of, 175, 178–80; area, 178; ethnic groups, 174, 179; infant mortality, 270; languages, 179, 180; life expectancy, 160; population growth, 157, 158; religion, 178, 179; revolts in, 38, 178; terrorism in, 178
Dagestani people, 172; as percentage of population, 181
dams, 146
Daniel, Yuliy, 227
Daniil, Prince, 10
Daniil Aleksandrovich, Prince, 12
Danilov-Danil'yan, Viktor, lxxix, 149–50
Danube River: pollution of, 142
Danylo, Prince. *See* Daniil, Prince
Dargin people, 179
Days of Defense Against Environmental Hazards, 150
Dayton Peace Accords (1995), 464
death rate, 157, 159, 267
debt: interenterprise, lxviii–lxix, 310, 312
debt rescheduling: with Paris Club, 379
Decembrist Revolt, 30–31
Defense, Ministry of, 446–47; in command structure, 525, 537; defense minister in, 525; foreign policy role, 446–47; military communications under, 368; national security policy role, 446–47; in Soviet era, 446
Defense Council, lxxxiii
defense industry, 515–24; conversion to civilian industry, 516–17; coordina-

tion, 516; employment, 515, 516; enterprises, 516; exports, lix, 459, 463, 469–70, 477, 479–80, 510, 518, 520–23, 546–47; geographic distribution, 515; modernization, 524; under Peter the Great, 22; production, lix, 517–18; prospects, 523–24; research organizations, 516, 518; resources, 516; in Soviet system, lxvii, 516; under Stalin, 72, 351; structure and conditions, 516–18; subsidies, 517
defense spending: budget, 518; reductions in, 308; on research and development, 520
Delyanov, Ivan, 37
democratic centralism, 68
Democratic Party of Russia, 416
Democratic Platform, 112
Democratic Union, 255; formed, 109
demokratizatsiya, 105, 108–9
demonstrations. *See* political demonstrations
Denmark: wars against, 14
Derzhavin, Gavriil, 224
desertification, 144
de-Stalinization, 87, 469; ended, 93
Desyatinnaya Church, 7
détente, 56, 95, 454; demise of, 57; with Europe, 461
Deynekin, Petr, 543
Diaghilev, Sergey, 231, 233
diamonds, 323
dictatorship of the proletariat, 61–62, 68
diet, lxiii, 267, 279
disabled people: facilities for, 278
disease: of children, 271; death from, 160–61, 268; heart disease, 268, 274, 278; increases in, 239, 267–68; tuberculosis, cii, ciii, 268; waterborne, 140
dissidents: under Brezhnev, 93; under Chernenko, 100; persecuted, 93, 100
divorce: causes of, 250; procedures for, 250; rate, 250, 253; under Stalin, 70, 74; unofficial, 250
Dmitriy, First False (r. 1605–6); crowned, 15; overthrown, 15
Dmitriy, Second False (r. 1610–13), 15
Dnepr River, 133; as commercial route, 7; pollution of, 141, 142
Dnepropetrovosk-Donets mining center, 137
Dnestr Moldavian Republic, xcii, 450, 506
Dobrolyubov, Nikolay, 225
Doctors Without Borders, 293
Doctor Zhivago (Pasternak), 226–27
Dolgan people, 172
Donets Basin: coal in, 336
Don River, 133; pollution of, 142
Don River rebellion (1670–71), 18
Dostoyevskiy, Fedor, 225
drainage, 126–29, 132–34
drought: under Brezhnev, 96; in the steppe, 130
drug addiction (*see also* narcotics), lxiii–lxiv, ciii, 272–73, 575; education, 273; increases in, 239, 575; rate, 575–76; by soldiers, 546; treatment, lxiv, 577
drug trafficking, xciii, 473, 574, 575–77; crackdown on, 559, 577; money laundering in, 576; by soldiers, 546; in Soviet system, 578
Dubinin, Sergey, 313, 341
Dudayev, Dzhokar, 199, 571
Duma (1905–18), 46, 47, 51
Dyachenko, Tat'yana, lxxxii

earthquakes, 132
Eastern Europe: purges in, 84; Soviet intervention in, 56, 82, 465; Soviet occupation of, lvi, 81, 465; trade with, 83; unrest in, 88–90
Eastern Sayan Mountains, 131–32
East European Plain, 5–6, 129
East Germany. *See* German Democratic Republic
Economic Cooperation Organization, xciv
economic depression (1890s), 41–42
economic reform, lxv–lxvi, 302–4; under Brezhnev, 57, 95–96, 300; restructuring measures, 308–9; goals, lxix, 307–8; under Gorbachev, lxviii, 106, 298–99, 300, 303–4; under Khrushchev, 302; macroeconomic stabilization measures, 308; resistance to, 303; results, 306–7; shortcomings, 305, 308; under Yeltsin, lxviii, 106, 298–99, 300, 307–21
Ecuador: trade with, 482
education (*see also* schools), lxii, 258–67; access to, 260; under Alexander II, 34; attitudes toward, 266–67; budgets for,

260; business, 265; completion of, 264, 347; continuous, 259; curriculum, 262; expansion, 70; experimentation with, 70; infrastructure, 260; Marxist-Leninist indoctrination in, 258; of nobles, 22; under Peter the Great, 22; reforms, lxiv, 34, 36, 258, 259, 262; right to, 420; in rural areas, 260, 264; and society, 266–67; in Soviet Union, 258–59; under Stalin, 70, 75, 258; in urban areas, 260, 264; vocational, 259, 265, 348; westernization of, 22–23
education, higher, 264–66; access, 240, 266; admissions policies, 70, 75, 97; attitudes toward, 266–67; under Brezhnev, 97; completion of, 264, 347; enrollment in, 260; language in, 221; reform, 264–65; under Stalin, 70, 75
Education, Law on (1992), 262, 263
Egypt: arms sales to, 479–80; military support for, 94; relations with, 88, 94, 478; trade agreement with, 479
Ehrenburg, Ilya, 217
Eisenhower, Dwight D.: meeting with Khrushchev, 89
Eisenstein, Sergey, 70, 217
Ekho Kavkaza, 216
Elbrus, Mount, 131
elections: campaigns for, 397; candidates for, 396, 397, 398; under Gorbachev, 108, 109, 117; laws, 46, 73; of 1906, 46; of 1987, 46–47; of 1989, 110; of 1990, 386; of 1991, 117; for president, 396–99; runoff, 397; voter participation in, 397
elections of 1993, lxxvi, 390, 415–17; boycotts of, 416; constitutional referendum, 391; irregularities in, 416; parties in, 416; procedures for, 415–16
elections of 1994: irregularities in, 401; local, 412; parliamentary, 401
elections of 1995, lxxvi; campaign, 567; candidates in, 418; international observers in, 418; laws governing, 417; parliamentary, 150, 401, 417–19; party-list voting in, 417–18; results, 418–19; voter turnout in, 418
elections of 1996: campaigns, lxxvii–lxxviii, 317, 392, 426; candidates, lxxvii, 398; international observers, 399; local, 413; parties in, lxxvii; presidential, lxxxi–lxxxii, 317, 392, 398–99; regional, lxxxiv–lxxxv; voter turnout, 399
elections of 1997: regional, lxxxiv–lxxxv
electric power, 338; capacity, 338; consumption, 338; generation, 338; hydro, 146, 180, 181, 191, 332, 338; reform, cv; thermal, 338
élite class, 241; conspicuous consumption by, lxvi, xcvi, 241; economic power, lxvi; education of, 97; in Kievan Rus', 7; privileges, 240; rural, 247; in Soviet Union, 240; westernization of, 26–27
Elizabeth (r. 1741–62), 23–24, 232–3
El Salvador: relations with, 481
employment: in agriculture, 323; benefits, 245; in defense industry, 515; distribution, 347–48; and downsizing, 245; supplementary, 246; training, 348; of women, 158, 246–47, 347
Employment Fund, 286, 292
energy (*see also* electric power; *see also under individual energy sources*), 331–40; consumption, 331–32, 338; exploitation, 331–32; export, 331, 332; foreign investment in, lxxv, 338–40; and foreign policy, 335; hard currency from, 323, 331; investment in, 378; output, 331; prices, 299, 321, 331, 332; resources, 123; shortages, 52; taxes on, 309; under Yeltsin, 318
English-language broadcasts, 425
environment: degradation of, lxi–lxii, 123–24; investment in, 151–52; protection of, lxxix, 152–53, 249–50; in Soviet Union, 136–37
environmental problems (*see also* pollution), 136–53; exposure, 136–37, 423; and health problems, lxiii, 136, 140, 239, 267; obstacles to correcting, 152; response to, 148–53
Environmental Protection, Law on (1991), 152
Environmental Protection and Natural Resources, Ministry of, lxxix, 149–50, 446–47
Epitsentr, 249
Eskimo languages, 220
estates (social groups), 26
Estonia: annexed, 77; border with, xcii, 125, 452–53, 569; declaration of sovereignty, 113; independence, lv, 118,

387; military withdrawal from, 441, 501; NATO membership, lxxxviii, 456; relations with, 452–53; Russians in, 452; Soviet influence over, 76
Estonians: nationalism of, 113; in Russian Empire, 28
Ethiopia: refugees from, 162; Soviet influence in, 94, 494
ethnic groups (*see also* nationalities; *see also under individual groups*), 172–202; discrimination against, xcvi; distribution, 172; in Kievan Rus', 173; number of, 172; relations among, 442; stereotypes of, 194; tensions among, 195, 200–201, 450
EU. *See* European Union
Eurasian Federation of Unions of Evangelical Baptist Christians, 212
European Union (EU): aid from, 144, 463; cooperation with, 462; recognition by, 449
Evangelical Reformed Church, 213
Evenk Autonomous Region, 175
Evenk people, lxii, 160, 172
exchange rate, 299, 309, 314, 342, 378; and Black Tuesday, 311, 314, 342
executive branch (*see also* president), 391–400
Executive Committee, 58
expatriates: return of, 82
Experts' Consultative Council, 211
exports (*see also under individual products*): to Asia, 474; of crops, 42; of energy, 309, 331, 332, 335, 375; of matériel, lix, 459, 463, 469–70, 477, 479–80, 510, 518, 520–23, 546–47; of metals, 352, 376; of minerals, 376; taxes on, 346–47, 374

Fabergé, Karl, 233
families, 250–51; dynamics, 250–51; importance, 250; number, 250; in poverty, 244; rural, 248; size, 157, 250; support for, 286, 289–90, 291; women in, 251
family planning. *See* birth control
famine: deaths from, 124, 153, 159; in 1891, 41; under Stalin, 124, 153
FAPSI. *See* Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information
Far East: agriculture in, 323; coal mining in, 336; infant mortality in, 270; iron in, 323
Far East and Baikal Association, lxxxvi, 414
Far Eastern Military District, 529, 531; air force contingent of, 535
farms, collective (*see also* collectivization), lxvii, 247, 326; controls on, 82; converted to state farms, 96; economic targets for, 298; established, 56, 300; production on, 326, 327; reorganized, 91, 328; subsidies for, 329
farms, private, 326–27; legalized, 328; productivity of, 327; under reform program, 328–29; subsidies for, 329
farms, state, lxvii, 96, 247, 326; economic targets for, 298; production quotas for, 326; reorganized, 328; subsidies for, 329
Farsi: broadcasts in, 425
fascism: decree against, 585; policy against, 76
February Revolution (1917), 57–58
Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information (FAPSI), lx, 564–66; mission, 565–66
Federal Assembly (*see also* parliament): established, 400; legislation produced by, 401–2; members, 400; powers, 403–4, 564; sessions, 401; structure, 402–3; transitional, 401
Federal Border Service, 508, 567–70; antidrug force, 577; matériel, 569; personnel, 569
federal budget, lxxxv; implementation, 342; increases, 34, 42; 1997, lxxiii, lxxviii; under Witte, 42
Federal Counterintelligence Service (FSK) (*see also* Federal Security Service), 562–63, 583; control of, 562; created, 562; dismantled, 563; economic counterintelligence directorate, 563; personnel, 562; powers, 562
federal debt: expenditures, 34; as percentage of gross domestic product, lxxiii; under Stolypin, 47
Federal Employment Service (FSZ), 349
Federal Migration Service (FMS), lxxxi, 162, 293; funding for, 163
Federal Organs of Government Communications and Information, Law on

(1993), 565
Federal Republic of Germany. *See* Germany, Federal Republic of
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: arms market in, 522
Federal Security Service (FSB) (*see also* Federal Counterintelligence Service), 563–64; control of, 564; established, 563; mission, lix–lx, 563, 564, 565–66, 577
Federal Tax Police Service, 313, 580; staff, 580
Federal Television and Radio Service of Russia, 424–25
Federation Council: chairman, 402; committees, 402–3, 443; members, 400, 402, 412–13, 417; powers, 403–4, 443
Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (FNPR), 248–49, 290; strikes called by, lxxv–lxxvi
Federation Treaty (1992), lv, 197, 409
Fedor I (r. 1584–98), 14–15
Fedor II (r. 1605), 14
Fedor III (r. 1676–82), 21
Fedorov, Boris: as finance minister, 310
Fedorov, Lev, 586
Feminist Alternative, 254
fertility rate, 157–58, 269
Fet, Afanasiy, 225
Filaret (Romanov), 17
filmmaking: under Stalin, 70
Finland: arms sales to, 521; border of Russia with, 126; concessions from, 81; invasion of, 77; reparations from, 81
Finland, Grand Duchy of: annexed, 29, 30
Finnic peoples, 172
Finnish Social Democrats, 42
Finno-Ugric languages, 220
Finno-Ugric tribes, 9, 174
Finns: in Russian Empire, 28; Russification of, 37
firearms: availability of, 573; theft of, 573
The Firebird (Stravinskiy), 229
fishing, 129; commercial, 183, 189; and poaching, 152; rights, 472; and water pollution, 141, 142
Five-Year Plan, First (1928–32), 71, 301; agriculture under, 55–56; industry under, 55–56
Five-Year Plan, Second (1933–37), 72
Five-Year Plan, Third (1938–41), 72, 301
Five-Year Plan, Fourth (1946–50), 301
Five-Year Plan, Twelfth (1986–90), 303
floods, 144–45
FNPR. *See* Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia
Fokine, Michel, 231
Fonvizin, Denis, 224
food: imports of, 376; shortages, 52, 97
Foreign Affairs, Ministry of, 440, 444–46; foreign policy role, 444–45
foreign assistance: to China, 471; from Council of Europe, 463; from European Union, 144, 463; from Germany, 462; from International Monetary Fund, lxix, lxxxviii, 311, 379; to Turkey, 478; from the United States, 147, 455, 456–57, 458
foreign debt, 379; hard-currency, 306; repudiated, 69; service, 342; Soviet, 379
foreign economic relations, 372–79
Foreign Intelligence Service, 560
foreign investment, lxxiv–lxxv, 299, 377–79; amount, 378; by China, 197; in energy, lxxv, 338; by Germany, 378, 462; by Japan, 197; in Moscow, lxvi, 320; obstacles, 378; protections, 378; sources, 378; under Soviet system, 377; in telecommunications, cv, 369–70; by United States, 378, 459
Foreign Investment Law (1991), 377
foreign policy (*see also* foreign policy concept), xcvii, 447–83; under Alexander II, 37–40; under Andropov, 99–100; armed forces in, 490; under Brezhnev, 93–95; centralized, 439; in Cold War, 56, 431, 438–39, 446–47; conflict over, 483–84; under constitution of 1993, 392; and energy, 335; on Georgia, 450–51; under Gorbachev, 102–5, 432; influences on, 501–2; of Khrushchev, 88–90; on Latin America, 481; mechanism, 438–47; on Moldova, 450; on near abroad, 447–53; of Nicholas I, 32; of Nicholas II, 43; objectives of, 431, 434–36, 469; problems in, 438; and religion, 220; on Southeast Asia, 469; Soviet, 461, 469; as Soviet successor, 433; of Stalin, 69–70, 75–76; transition, 433; of Yeltsin, lxxxvii, 433–38

foreign policy concept (1993) (*see also* foreign policy), 462; Atlanticist view, 473; Central Europe in, 466; China in, 469–70; debt payments in, 478; dispute over, 435; Eurasian view, lxxxvii, 473; former Yugoslavia in, 467–68; government commission on, 445; Japan in, 472; Latin America in, 481–82; military strategy in, 435–36; NATO in, 463; North Korea in, 476; priorities of, 435, 462; South Korea in, 476
foreign relations: with Armenia, 433; with Austria, 28, 29, 37, 39, 88; with Azerbaijan, c, ci, 433, 453; with Baltic states, 452; with Belarus, 452; with Britain, 28, 29, 37, 39, 43, 48, 79–81; with Bulgaria, 39; with Central Asia, 451–52; with China, lxxxvii, 19, 38, 48, 84, 93, 103, 433, 469–71, 510; with the Commonwealth of Independent States, xci–xciv, c, ci; with Egypt, 94; with Europe, 103; with France, 37, 38, 40, 43; with Georgia, 433, 450–51; with Germany, 39, 43, 48, 104; with Israel, 105; with Japan, 38, 48, 433, 471–73; with Kazakstan, 452; with Latin America, 481–83; with North Korea, 192, 475–77, 510; after Peter the Great, 24; under Peter the Great, 21–22; with Prussia, 37, 38; with Saudi Arabia, 105; with South Korea, 105, 433, 474, 475–77, 510; with Syria, 94; with Taiwan, 433; with Turkmenistan, 452; with Ukraine, 433, 452; with the United States, 37, 69, 79–81, 89–90, 99–100, 101, 102–3, 104, 438, 442, 454–60, 476; with Uzbekistan, 452; with the West, 88
Foreign Trade Bank (Rosvneshtorgbank), 340, 343
forests: area of, 145; clear-cutting, 145–45; damage to, 144–46; exploitation, 181, 183, 185, 189, 190, 323, 356; management, lxii, 146; timber production, lxvii, 356
France: in Continental Blockade, 29; military relations with, 76; relations with, xc, 37, 38, 40, 43, 75; in Triple Entente, 48; in World War I, 50
Franz Ferdinand, Archduke: assassinated, 49
Frederick the Great, 24
Friedland, Battle of (1807), 29
Frunze, Mikhail: theories of, 495
FSB. *See* Federal Security Service
FSK. *See* Federal Counterintelligence Service
FSZ. *See* Federal Employment Service
Fund for Protection from Sexual Harassment, 254
Fund for Social Support, 286
futurists, 225–26

G–7. *See* Group of Seven
G–8. *See* Summit of the Eight
Gainurtdin, Ravil, 214
Galicia-Volhynia, 10
Ganelin Trio, 230
Gapon, Georgiy, 45
Garabogaz Gulf: dam on, 143
gasoline, 335
GATT. *See* General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
Gaydar, Yegor, 150, 308, 416; as acting prime minister, 388; dismissed, lxviii, 310
Gazprom. *See* State Natural Gas Company
GDP. *See* gross domestic product
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 373
General Staff (military): in command structure, 525; Main Intelligence Directorate, 526–27; officers, 526; organization, 526; personnel, 527
Georgia, 504–5; border with, 126, 569; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 451; conflicts within, 433, 448, 569; cooperation with Azerbaijan and Ukraine, ci; environmental protection in, 142; foreign policy toward, 448, 450–51; immigration from, 166; intelligence service in, 563; military bases in, 505; peacekeeping forces in, xci, xcv, 448, 449, 451, 456, 458, 459, 505, 529, 570; relations with NATO, lxxxviii; Russian military bases in, 451; trade agreements, ci
Georgian Orthodox Church, 212
Georgia, Republic of: autonomy, 108; border of Russia with, 126; demonstrations in, 113, 114; independence for, 114; popular fronts in, 113; in Soviet

Union, 63, 66, 385
Georgians: immigration by, 164; political parties of, 42; in Russian Empire, 28
Gerashchenko, Viktor, 312, 341
German Democratic Republic (East Germany): created, 84; emigration from, 103–4; revolution in, 104; Soviet influence in, 465
German people, 191–92; autonomous republic for, 191–92; emigration by, 161, 191, 192; exiled, 191; as percentage of population, 173, 181; population, 191; religion, 212; in Russian Empire, 28
Germany (*see also* Prussia): aid from, 462; allied with Austria-Hungary, 40; in Anti-Comintern Pact, 76; invasion of Soviet Union, 56, 78–79, 207, 218, 301, 493; investment from, 378, 462; in League of the Three Emperors, 38–39; migration to, 191; relations with, xc, 39, 43, 48, 69, 104–5; reparations from, 81; reunification, 104; trade with, 375, 462; troop withdrawal from, 501; zones of occupation, 83–84
Germany, Federal Republic of (West Germany): relations with, 104–5; as security threat, 90
glasnost, liv, 57, 105, 107–8; aims, 107; arts under, 234; and economy, 306; and environment, 137; introduced, 107; literature under, 227; media under, 423; and migration, 161; nationalities under, 386; results, 107, 465–66; and youth culture, 244
Glazunov, Aleksandr, 229
Glinka, Mikhail, 32, 228
Glukhikh, Viktor, 516
GNP. *See* gross national product
Godunov, Boris (r. 1598–1605), 14; proclaimed tsar, 15
Gogol', Nikolay, 32, 224–25, 229
gold: mining, 181, 189, 190, 191, 323; reserves, 340, 342
Golden Horde (*see also* Mongols), 10, 184, 187; defeated, 10
Golos Rossii. *See* Voice of Russia
Golushko, Nikolay, 562
Goncharov, Ivan, 225
Goncharov, Sergey, 567
Goncharova, Natal'ya, 233
Gorbachev, Mikhail S.: and Andropov, 100; background, 113; banking and finance under, 340; coup against, liv, 57; *demokratizatsiya* under, 105; domestic policy, 105–9; economic reform plan, lxviii, 106, 303–4; elections under, 108; environment under, 149; foreign policy under, 102–5, 432, 440, 465–66, 473, 475; *glasnost* under, 57, 105, 227, 465; at Group of Seven summit, 105; industry under, 516; internal security under, 578; manufacturing under, 350; music under, 229; nationalities under, 386; New Thinking under, 432; Nobel Prize for Peace award, 105; opposition to, 116; *perestroika* under, 105; personnel changes by, 101–2; as president, 112; purges under, 57; reforms under, 57, 102, 109–12, 271, 303, 327; religion under, 208; selected, 101; summit meeting with Bush, 104, 455; summit meeting with Reagan, 102–3, 454–55; and Yeltsin, 116
Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission, 144, 457–58, 459
Gor'kiy, Maksim, 70, 226
Gor'kiy Automotive Plant, 352, 522
Gorno-Altay, 175, 189; area, 189; economy, 189; ethnic groups, 189; population growth, 157; population, 189; religion, 189; sovereignty, 196
Gosbank. *See* State Bank
Goskomoboronprom. *See* State Committee for the Defense Industry
Goskompriroda. *See* State Committee for the Protection of Nature
Goskomstroy. *See* State Construction Committee
Gosplan. *See* State Planning Committee
Goths, 5
Government (cabinet), 399–400, 444–47; armed forces under, 525; duties, 400, 444; foreign policy under, 444; goals, lxxix; members, 399; ministries, 399–400; no-confidence votes on, 404, 405, 406; reorganization, lxxviii–lxxix, civ, cvi; role of president in, 393
government, provincial, 408–15; environmental commissions of, 149; head of, 412; intergovernment cooperation, 414; legislation, 411–12; opposition to, 415; organization, 35; powers, 410;

power sharing by, lxxxv, lxxxvi, 411–12, 412–13, 414; presidential representatives in, 412; reform, 35; reorganization, 26; restrictions on, 37; status, 410, 411; tax payments, lxxxv
government spending, 381; financing of, 342; under Gorbachev, 305–6; on wages, 312
Governorate General of Turkestan. *See* Turkestan, Guberniya of
Grachev, Pavel, lvii, 209, 503, 525–26
Graduate School of International Business, 266
grain, 65; cultivation, 182, 185, 325; embargo on, 95; imports of, 96
Grand Embassy, 21
Greater Volga Association, lxxxvi, 414
Great Northern War, 22
Great Patriotic War (*see also* World War II), lv, 78–81, 493; economy under, 301; religion in, 207
Great Terror, 56, 70, 124
Greece: in Balkan wars, 49; communist aims in, 83; cultural influences of, 7
Greeks: in Russian Empire, 28
green movement, 148–49
Grenada: Soviet involvement in, 481; United States invasion of, 454
Gromov, Boris, 503
Gromyko, Andrey, 101, 109
gross domestic product (GDP), 378; in 1991, 306; in 1994, 299; in 1995, 318–19; in 1996, lxxiii; in 1997, civ; per capita, 299; projected, lxxiii
gross domestic product fractions: budget deficit, 308, 310; government debt, lxxiii; health care, lxiii; private sector, 380; services sector, 319
gross national product (GNP): growth rates, 301, 302; after World War II, 301
ground forces. *See* army
Group of Seven (G–7) (*see also* Summit of the Eight), 105, 372; cooperation with, lxxxvii, xcviii, 437, 438
Groznyy, lvii, 502
GRU. *See* Main Intelligence Directorate
Guatemala: relations with, 481
guberniya concept, 415
Guberniya of Turkestan. *See* Turkestan, Guberniya of
guest workers: from North Korea, 192, 476; from Vietnam, 475
Gulag. *See* Main Directorate for Corrective Labor Camps
Gulf of Finland: pollution in, 141–42
GUO. *See* Main Guard Directorate
Guomindang (Nationalist Party): Soviet support for, 56, 69–70; victory over, 84
GUOP. *See* Main Directorate for Organized Crime
Gusinskiy, Vladimir, 372
Gypsies. *See* Roma people

Haiti: intervention in, 482
Hango Peninsula, Battle of (1714), 490
hard currency reserves, 379
Hare Krishnas, 210
health care, 269, 270, 274–80; alternative, 280; availability, 267, 277; for children, 271; criticism, 423; decline, lxii, 154–55, 160, 267; funding, lxiii, 278; prenatal, 270; preventive, ciii, 279; right to, 420; psychiatric, 276–77; for workers, 290
health care professionals: corruption, 278; education, 36; number, 277; salaries, lxiii, 277; strikes by, lxxv, ciii; training, lxiii, 277–78; women as, 246
health conditions, 267–74; decline, lxiii, ciii, 154–55
health facilities: conditions, 276, 279; Soviet, 274–77
health problems: from alcohol, lxiii, 271; death from, 160–61; malnutrition, lxiii, 154–55; from pollution, lxiii, 136, 140, 239, 267
health system, lxiii–lxiv, 274–80; quality of, lxiii, 277; drug shortages in, 278–79; Soviet, 274–77; stratification of, 277
Helsinki Accords (1975): signed, 93, 95; violated, 95
Holy Alliance, 30
Holy Synod: under Alexander III, 37; under Peter the Great, 22, 204
homelessness, 292–93; attitudes toward, 292–93; increase in, 165, 239; of military families, 542; shelters, 292, 293
homosexuals: attitudes toward, 257; communities of, 257; prosecution of, 257; rights of, 257; violence against, 258
Honecker, Erich, 101; ousted, 104

Horowitz, Vladimir, 229
housing, 280–85; availability, 283; construction, 281, 285; corruption, 284, 285; demand, 282; entitlements, 290, 420; expenses, 281, 283, 290; under First Five-Year Plan, 301; maintenance, 283–84; market, lxvi, 280, 285; materials, 285; for military families, lvi, 282–83, 542; ownership, 280; privatization, lxvi, cv, 282; shared, 281; shortages, 97, 158, 280; in Soviet Union, 280–81; speculation in, 285; subsidies, lxii, cv, 280, 282
How the Steel Was Tempered (Ostrovskiy), 226
human rights abuses, lx, lxxxvii, cvi, 95, 460, 462, 421, 476, 580–81, 583–84, 588
Human Rights Commission, 421
Hungarian Revolution, 89
Hungary: arms sales to, 521–22; border with Austria, 103; NATO membership, lxxxviii; reforms in, 103; Soviet influence in, 83, 465; Soviet invasion of, 461, 465, 494; Soviet troops withdrawn from, 104, 163, 501; trade with, 375; uprisings in, 32, 89, 491
Huns, 5

Il'men', Lake 134
Ilyushin, Viktor, lxiv
IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund
Immediate Measures to Provide Health Care for the People of the Russian Federation, Law on (1993), 279
immigration (*see also* migration; refugees), 162–65; by ethnic group, 164; illegal, 162, 164
immunization, 271
Imperial Russian Army, 490
Imperial School of Ballet, 231
imports, 376; control, 373; of food, 376; of grain, 96; of machinery, 376; tariffs on, 373–74
income (*see also* wages): of state employees, 245; taxes on, 309; unreported, 242, 245
Independent Broadcasting System, 425
Independent Miners' Union (NPG), 249
Independent Television (NTV) network, 372, 425
Independent Trade Union of Workers in the Coal-Mining Industry (NPRUP), 249
India: arms sales to, 521, 522; relations with, 88, 438, 473, 474, 475
Indigirka River, 133
Indochina: Soviet involvement in, 84
industrialization: under Alexander II, 4; in Russian Empire, 34; under Stalin, 55–56, 71–72, 82, 300
industrial output: under Brezhnev, 96; in labor camps, 590; in light industry, 354, 355; in metallurgy, 351; under war communism, 65; under Yeltsin, lxxiii–lxxiv, 318
industry (*see also under individual industries*): banks connected with, 343; corruption in, lxxi; decentralized, 91; distribution, 34, 186; employment, 347; energy consumption, 338; under five-year plans, 55, 71, 301, 301, 303; heavy, lxvii, 350–54; investment in, 303, 355; light, 354–55; moved to Central Asia, 78, 301; nationalized, 65, 70, 71, 300; under New Economic Program, 66; ownership of, 42, 60; under *perestroika*, 106; under Peter the Great, 22; quotas, 71; under Stalin, 55, 70, 71; state control, 55
Industry and Construction Bank (Promstroybank), 340–41, 343
infant mortality, 97, 269–70, 278
inflation, lxii, lxxii, 313–14, 378; attempts to reduce, lxix, 308, 310–11; effects, lxii, 286, 287; under Gorbachev, 306; of housing costs, 283; projected, lxxiii; rate, civ, 299, 311, 313, 314; under Stalin, 71; under Yeltsin, lxix, 245, 313
informers: under Nicholas I, 31; under Stalin, 73
INF Treaty. *See* Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty
Ingushetia, Republic of, 175; ethnic groups, 174; infant mortality, 270; population, 157, 177; sovereignty declaration, 175, 178, 197, 199; unemployment, 349
Ingush people, 172; exiled, 177, 198; geographic distribution, 175, 177–78; languages, 178; as percentage of population, 182; population, 177; social

structure, 178
Institute for Defense Studies, 500–501, 502
institutes, 264; polytechnic, 264; program, 264
Instruction to the Commission, 26
insurance services, 345, 420; investment in, 378; under Soviet system, 341
intelligentsia: political unrest by, 26, 33
interest rates, lxxii
Interim Agreement on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, 95
Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (1987), 103, 454–55
Internal Affairs, Ministry of (MVD), 578–82; budget, 579; corruption, 578, 581; debts, 579; duties, lx, 578; Internal Troops, 558; personnel, 578; prison system under, 589–90; recruiting, 579; reorganization, 579; salaries, 578
internal security, lix–lx, cii–ciii; human rights violations, lx; missions of, 559; reforms in, 555; under Soviet system, lix, 555–59; support for, lix–lx; threats to, 572–77; under Yeltsin, 555, 559–60
Internal Troops, Law on (1992), 581
Internal Troops of the MVD, 558, 579, 581–82, 583; crime by, 582; mission, 558, 581; personnel, 558, 581; training, 558; weapons, 582
International Atomic Energy Agency, 338
International Labour Organisation, 348
International Management Institute, 266
International Monetary Fund (IMF): loan conditions, 310, 342; loans from, lxix, lxxxviii, civ, 311, 379; membership in, 372
international standard banks, 342–43
International Tropical Timber Agreement (1983), 153
Interregional Group, 110–12
investment (*see also* foreign investment), lxxiii; in agriculture, 96; in chemicals, 355; in environment, 151–52; in industry, 303, 355; public, 308
Iran: arms sales to, lix, lxxxviii, xcvi, 459, 479–80; nuclear technology for, lxxxviii, xcvi, 456, 457, 459, 460, 480; policy toward, 479; relations with, xcii, xcvi, xcvii–xcviii, 83, 436; Russian scientists sought by, 156
Iranian languages, 221
Iran-Iraq War, 478
Iraq: nuclear weapons of, 480; oil from, xcvi; refugees from, 162; relations with, xcv–xcvi, 479, 480; Russian scientists sought by, 156
Irkutsk Oblast: ethnic groups in, 175; pollution in, 139
iron: deposits, 323; mining, 181, 185, 189, 190; production, 34, 41
Iron Curtain, 83
irrigation: environmental problems from, 138
Irtysh-Ob' river system, 133
Iset' River: pollution of, 140
Iskander, Fazil', 227
Iskra, 43
Islam, lxv, 214–16; conciliation toward, 216; conversion to, 181; and ecumenism, 211; fear of, 201, 214–15, 220, 508, 510; followers, 202, 214, 234; geographic distribution, 179, 214; muftiates, 215–16
Islamic Cultural Center of Russia, 216
Islamic Renaissance Party, 214–15
Islamskiye novosti, 216
Islamskiy vestnik, 216
Israel: emigration to, 218; relations with, xciv, 105, 478, 480
Italy: in Caspian Pipeline Consortium, c; in World War I, 50
Ivan Kalita (Ivan I) (r. 1325–40), 12
Ivan III (the Great) (r. 1462–1505), 12, 13
Ivan IV (the Terrible) (r. 1533–84), 13–14; accomplishments, 13; crowned, 13; instability of, 13
Ivan V (r. 1682–96): as co-tsar, 21
Ivan VI (r. 1740–41), 23
Ivanovo: industry, 354; unemployment, 349
Ivanovo Oblast: population growth, 157;
Isvestiya, 423
Izvol'skiy, Aleksandr, 48

Japan: aid from, 147; in Anti-Comintern Pact, 76; conflicts with, 433, 434, 441; investment by, 197; relations with, xcviii, 38, 48, 147, 433, 438, 471–73, 474; as security threat, 41; state visit to,

xcv, 472; territorial disputes with, xcv, 44, 81, 471; territorial waters of, 472–73; trade with, 375; in World War I, 50; in World War II, 80
Japanese-language broadcasts, 425
Jaruzelski, Wojciech, 465
Jassy, Treaty of (1792), 25
Jehovah's Witnesses, 213
Jewish Agency, 219
Jewish Autonomous Oblast (Birobidzhan), 176, 218, 409
Jews: as communists, 217–18; discrimination against, lxv, 25, 48, 82; and ecumenism, 211; geographic distribution, 25, 217, 218; language, 218; migration, 37, 161, 216–17, 218–19; as percentage of population, 173, 202; pogroms against, 217; political parties of, 42; population, 217, 218, 219; purged, 218; religiously active, 219; restrictions on, 25, 217; in Russian Empire, 25, 37, 216–17; schools for, 219–20; in World War II, 218
Jiang Zemin: summit meeting with Yeltsin, xcviii
Johansson, Christian, 231
Joint Venture Law (1987), 305
joint ventures, lxix; in Soviet Union, 377
Jordan: relations with, 478
Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow (Radishchev), 27
Judaism, 216–20; revival of, 219
judges, 588; appointment, 393, 408; confirmation, 403; former Soviet, 406; independence, 407; number, 407; salaries, 406–7
judicial reform, 407
judiciary, 406–8; powers, 564; reforms, 34, 35; show trials, 73; structure, 407–8; trials, 407, 421, 586
July Days, 60
June 1967 War, 94
Juppé, Alain, 458
Justice, Ministry of, 406

Kabardino-Balkaria, Republic of, 175, 180–81; area, 180; ethnic groups, 180; industry, 181; population, 157, 180; religion, 180; social structure, 180–81; sovereignty, 197
Kabardin people, 172; as percentage of population, 180
Kadannikov, Vladimir, 313
Kadets. *See* Constitutional Democratic Party
Kaganovich, Lazar, 217; purged, 87
Kaliningrad, 126, 509–10, 513; autonomy for, 510; climate, 134; military forces in, 509; population, 509; port of, 363, 509; power sharing by, 411
Kalmykia, Republic of, 175, 181; area, 181; environmental degradation in, 137, 138, 144; ethnic groups, 181; HIV infection rate, 274; infant mortality, 270; population, 157, 181; sovereignty movement, 414
Kalmyk people, 172, 181; exiled, 181; as percentage of population, 181
Kaluga: immigration to, 165
Kama Automotive Plant, lxxxv–lxxxvi, 353
Kama River, 132; hydroelectric plant on, 338; pollution of, 141
Kamchatka Peninsula, 130, 132
Kamenev, Lev, 217; deported to Siberia, 73; executed, 73; in troika, 67, 68
Kandinskiy, Vasiliy, 233–34
Kansk-Achinsk coal field, 336
Kantemir, Antiokh, 223
Karachayevo-Cherkessia, Republic of, 175, 181–82; agriculture, 181; area, 181; ethnic groups, 181–82; industry, 181; population, 157, 181, 182; religion, 181
Karachay people, 172, 181; exiled to Central Asia, 182; as percentage of population, 182
Karamzin, Nikolay, 224
Kara Sea, 147; pollution of, 514
Karelia, Republic of, 175, 183; area, 183; environmental damage in, 183; ethnic groups, 183; industry, 183; iron in, 323; population, 183; religion, 183; sovereignty, 196, 414
Karelian people, 172; origins of, 183; as percentage of population, 183
Karimov, Islam, xciv
Kartsev-Venediktov Design Bureau, 518
Kaverin, Veniamin, 217, 226
Kazakov, Matvey, 233
Kazakov, Yuriy, 227
Kazak people: as percentage of population, 173, 181

Kazakstan: autonomy for, 108; border with, 125; in Caspian Pipeline Consortium, c; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 118, 388, 449; customs union with, xciii, 452; ethnic Russians in, 452, 473–74; immigration from, 166; nationality clashes in, 113, 451–52; natural resources, 335; nuclear weapons in, 513, 539; relations with China, 450; relations with Russia, xcii, 452; in Soviet Union, 66; trade with, ci, 376; and Virgin Lands campaign, 90–91
Kazan': population, 154
Kazan' Khanate, 187; annexed, 14
Kedr coalition, 150
Kennedy, John F.: meeting with Khrushchev, 89
Kerenskiy, Aleksandr: and Bolshevik Revolution, 61; as prime minister, 60; as war minister, 59
KGB. *See* Committee for State Security
KGB Security Troops: personnel, 557; missions, 557–58
Khabarovsk Territory: alcoholism in, 161; pollution in, 139
Khachaturyan, Aram, 229, 230
Khakassia, Republic of, 175, 189–90; economy, 190; language, 190; population, 190
Khakass people, 190
Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Region, 175; population, 153
Khanty tribe, 153; geographic distribution of, 175
Khasavyurt accords (1996), lxxx, lxxxi
Khasbulatov, Ruslan, 388
Khatyb Mukaddas, Imam, 216
Khazars, 6
Khmel'nitskiy, Bogdan, 19
Khovanshchina (Musorgskiy), 228
Khrushchev, Nikita S., 85–91; background, 86, 113; foreign policy under, 88–90, 440, 481; internal security under, 555; manufacturing under, 350; military doctrine of, 495; overthrown, 56, 91; as prime minister, 88; reforms, lxvii, 56, 85–87, 90–91; religion under, 207; rise to power, 86–88; denunciation of Stalin, 86, 87, 469; summit meetings, 89
Kiev (city): art of, 232; sacked, 9, 10
Kievan Rus': Christianity adopted by, 7, 173, 203; disintegration, 8–10, 174; ethnic groups, 173; expansion, 6; foreign relations, 6; golden age, 6–7; legacy, 11; origins, 3, 6; politics in, 7; schools in, 7; social classes in, 7–8; trade by, 6, 7
Kipchak tribes, 179
Kirilenko, Andrey, 98
Kirov, Sergey, 72–73
Kirov Ballet, 231
Kirov Theater, 232
Klyuchevskaya Volcano, 132
Knyazhnin, Yakov, 224
Kohl, Helmut, xc
Kokand Khanate. *See* Quqon Khanate
Kokh, Al'fred, lxxi, lxxviii
Kokoshin, Andrey, 522
Kokovtsov government, 47
Kola nuclear reactor, 337
Kola Peninsula, 129; iron in, 323; pollution in, 137
Kolesnikov, Mikhail, 540
Kolyma Lowland, 129
Kolyma River, 133
Komi, Republic of, 175, 183–84; area, 183; coal in, 336; environmental damage in, 183, 184; industry, 184; oil fields, 332; sovereignty, 196, 414
Komi people, 172, 184; as percentage of population, 184
Komsomol. *See* Communist Youth League
Komsomol'skaya pravda, 423
Korea: economic ventures in, 41, 42
Korea, Democratic People's Republic of (North Korea): border of Russia with, 126; debt of, 476; guest workers from, 192, 476; migration to, 156; relations with, 192, 475–77, 510
Korea, Republic of (South Korea): airliner incident (1983), 100, 454; arms sales to, 477; debt to, 477; migration to, 156; relations with, 105, 433, 474, 475–77, 510
Korean people, 192; discrimination against, 192; migration, 192; population, 192
Korean War (1950–53), 84–85
Kornilov, Lavr, 60
Korolenko, Vladimir, 226
Koryak Autonomous Region, 175

Korzhakov, Aleksandr, lxxvii, lxxxii, 440, 566, 567
Kostroma: industry in, 354; nuclear power station, lxii
Kosygin, Aleksey, 96; as prime minister, 92; reforms under, 303
Kovalev, Sergey, 421
Kozyrev, Andrey, 220; dismissed, 445, 446, 484; foreign policy of, lxxxvii, 435; shock diplomacy speech, 445
KPRF. *See* Communist party of the Russian Federation
Kramskoy, Ivan, 233
Krapivin, Yuriy, 566
Krasnaya zvezda, 423, 424
Krasnodar Territory, 126; immigration to, 165; pollution in, 140; power sharing by, 411
Krasnoyarsk Aluminum, 352
Krasnoyarsk Territory, 126
Kremlin, 232
Kronshtadt rebellion, 65
Krymov, Yuriy, 226
Kryuchkov, Vladimir, 117, 566
Kuban' River: pollution of, 141
Kuchma, Leonid, xcii
Kuchuk-Kainarji, Treaty of (1774), 24–25, 37
Kulikov, Anatoliy, lxxi, lxxvii, lxxix, 578
Kulikovo, Battle of (1380), 10
Kumyk people, 172, 179; origins of, 179
Kuprin, Aleksandr, 226
Kurayev, Michael, 227
Kuril Islands dispute, xcv, xcviii, 441, 471–72, 473
Kursk, Battle of (1943), 493
Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, 323
Kursk nuclear reactor, 337
Kutuzov, Mikhail, 491
Kuwait: arms sales to, 479–80, 521; relations with, 478, 479
Kuznets mining center, 137, 336
Kyrgyzstan: army of, 509; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 118, 388, 450; customs union with, xciii, 452; ethnic Russians in, 473–74; immigration from, 166; military influence in, 509; riots in, 114; in Soviet Union, 66

Labor, Ministry of, 292; subsistence minimum, 292
Ladoga, Lake, 133; pollution of, 142
Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk District (Shostakovich), 229–30
Lak people, 179
land: arable, 144, 323; area, liii, 123, 125, 144; condominium laws, 284; degradation, 144; nationalized, 300; of nobles, 18; ownership, 18, 60, 284, 420; pollution, 144–46, 146; privatization, 284; reform, 284–85, 329–30; use in Russian Empire, 34
Land and Liberty (Zemlya i volya), 40–41
Land Reform, Law on (1990), 328
language (*see also under individual languages*): under constitution of 1993, 221; groups, 220–21; non-Russian, 221–22; rights, 420
Lapshin, Mikhail, 416
Larionov, Mikhail, 234
Latin America: foreign policy toward, 481; relations with, 438, 481–83; trade with, 482
Latvia: annexed, 77; border with, xcii, 125, 452–53, 569; declaration of sovereignty, 113; independence, lv, 118, 387; military withdrawal from, 441, 501; NATO membership, lxxxviii, 456; political unrest, 45; relations with, 452–53; Russians in, 452; Soviet influence over, 76
Latvians: political parties of, 42; in Russian Empire, 28; Russification of, 37
Lavrov, Petr, 40
Lay of Igor's Campaign, 222
LDPR. *See* Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia
League of Nations: Soviet Union in, 76
League of the Militant Godless, 206
League of the Three Emperors, 38–39
Lebanon: relations with, 480–81
Lebed', Aleksandr, lxxviii, cvi, 398, 441, 507; dismissed, lxxx, lxxxii; presidential aspirations, lxxxii; as Security Council head, lxxx, lxxxiii, 523
Lebedev, Vyacheslav, 407
legal code: in Kievan Rus', 7; of 1649, 17–18; westernization of, 26
Legislative Commission (1767), 26
Lena Plateau, 129
Lena River, 133

Lenin, Vladimir (*see also* Ul'yanov, Vladimir), 55, 67; assassination attempt on, 64; background, 59; death, 67; economy under, 66–68, 300–301; exiled, 60; and military doctrine, 495; name change, 43
Leningrad: seige of, 493
Leningrad Oblast: population growth, 157; power sharing, 411
Leningrad Rock Club, 230
Leonov, Leonid, 226
Lermontov, Mikhail, 224–25
Leskov, Nikolay, 225, 230
Lezgin people, 179
Li Peng, xc
Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), 403; in 1993 elections, 416; in 1995 elections, 419
Liberman, Yevsey, 95–96
Libya: policy toward, 444; relations with, 478, 479
life expectancy, 124, 155; for men, lxiv, ciii, 155, 159–60, 267; for women, lxiv, 155, 267
A Life for the Tsar (Glinka), 228
Life of the Archpriest Avvakum, 223
Ligachev, Yegor, 109
Likhachev, Dmitriy, 162
Likhachev Automotive Plant, 352
Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963), 90
List'ev, Vladislav, 574
literacy rate, 264, 347; of peasants, 36
literature, xcvi, 222–28; acmeist, 225–26; Aesopic language in, 225; under Brezhnev, 97; under Catherine the Great, 223; collectivization of, 74; erotic, 256; futurist, 225–26; under Gorbachev, 227; history of, 222–23; influences on, 222; nineteenth-century, 224–26; under Peter the Great, 223; post-Soviet, 227; realist, 224–25, 226; social questions in, 224, 225; Soviet, 70, 74, 97, 226–28; under Stalin, 70, 74, 226; symbolist, 225; under Yeltsin, 227–28
Lithuania: annexed, 77; blockade of, 114; border of Russia with, 126; declaration of independence, 114, 118, 387; declaration of sovereignty, lv, 113; military withdrawal from, 441, 501; NATO membership, lxxxviii, 456; political parties in, 42; Soviet influence over, 76; Volhynia annexed by, 10; wars against, 14
Lithuanians: in Russian Empire, 28; Russification of, 37
Litvinov, Maksim, 76, 217
livestock, 325; cattle, 191, 325; overgrazing by, 138; pigs, 325; production, 330; raising, 181, 182, 185, 189, 191; sheep, 325; slaughtered, 72
living standards, lxviii; under Brezhnev, 96–97, 348; decline, 158, 242, 245, 267, 302; under New Economic Program, 66; under Nicholas II, 42; under Yeltsin, 245, 348
Livshits, Aleksandr, lxx, lxxviii
Lobov, Oleg, 441
Logovaz, 372
Lomonosov, Mikhail, 24, 223
London Club, lxix, 379
London Straits Convention (1841), 32
Lucinschi, Petru, xciv
Lukashyenka, Alyaksandr, xciii–xciv
Lukin, Vladimir, 443, 416
Lukoil, 332–35
Luk'yanov, Anatoliy, 112
Lunacharskiy, Anatoliy, 70
Lutherans: missionaries, 210; in Russian Empire, 28, 213
Luzhkov, Yuriy, lxvi, xcii, 320; presidential aspirations, lxxxii
L'vov, Georgiy, 58
Lysenko, Trofim, 82

McDermott Oil, 339
machine-building industry, 354; in Dagestan, 178; investment in, 303; in Mordovia, 186; in Russia, 354; in Tatarstan, 187; production, 354
mafiya (*see also* organized crime), lxvi, lxxi–lxxii, 573; corruption by, lxxi, 320; influence, 573; members, 574; in privatization program, 316; protection payments to, lxxi, cii, 242, 244, 320; shuttle trading by, 320
Magadan, 363
magnitizdat, 230
Magnitogorsk: metallurgical combine, 351; pollution in, 137, 139
Magyars, 5
Main Directorate for Corrective Labor Camps (Gulag), 588–89

Main Directorate for Organized Crime (GUOP), 580
Main Guard Directorate (GUO), 566–67; Alpha Group, 566–67; missions, 566
Main Intelligence Directorate (GRU), 526–27
Malaya: Soviet involvement in, 84
Malaysia: arms sales to, 474, 521
Malenkov, Georgiy, 85; as prime minister, 86; purged, 85, 87
Malevich, Kazimir, 234
Manchuria: ventures into, 42, 44
Mandel'shtam, Osip, 217, 226
Mansi tribe, 153; geographic distribution, 175
manufacturing, 350–56; decline, 350–51; under Gorbachev, 350; under Khrushchev, 350; under Stalin, 350
Mao Zedong, 84, 89, 469
Marathon Oil, 339
Mari El, Republic of, 175, 186; area, 186; ethnic groups, 186; language, 196; population, 186; religion, 186
Mari people, 172, 186; as percentage of population, 173, 185, 186, 188; sovereignty, 196, 414
Maritime (Primorskiy) Territory, lxxxv, 192; commercial activity, xcv; sovereignty movement, 414
marriage: ceremonies, 207–8; common-law, 158; rates, 156, 253; under Stalin, 70
Marshall Plan, 81, 83
Marx, Karl, 206
Marxism-Leninism, 67–68; repudiated, 432
Maskhadov, Aslan, lxxxi
maternity, 269–71; benefits, lxii, 251–52, 288–89, 291; prenatal care, 270
matériel: buildup, 57, 95; joint production, 522; maintenance, 543, 544; nuclear, 95, 100; procurement, 518–20; production, 72, 517–18; sales, lix, lxxxviii, ci, 459, 463, 469–70, 477, 479–80, 510, 518, 520–23, 546–47
Mavrodi, Sergey, 345
Mayakovskiy, Vladimir, 70, 226
MB. *See* Security, Ministry of
media, 422–26; broadcast, 424–26; under *glasnost*, 423; print, 423–24; and public opinion, 423; in Soviet system, 422–23
Media-Most holding company, 372
men: life expectancy, lxiv, ciii, 155, 159–60, 267; mortality rate, 155; retirement age, 288
Mensheviks, 43; exiled, 67; in Petrograd Soviet, 59
merchant marine, 363
metallurgy: exports, 352, 376; ferrous, 34, 47, 82, 351–52; investment in, 303; in Kabardino-Balkaria, 181; nonferrous, 352; obsolete, 351; under Peter the Great, 22; pollution caused by, 137; production in, 351; production costs, 352; refitting of industry, 351
Methodist Church, 213
Mexico: foreign policy on, 481
MICEX. *See* Moscow International Currency Exchange
Michael, Grand Duke, 58
middle class: discontent, 4; poverty in, 244
Middle East, 478–81; policy toward, 479; relations with, 474, 477, 483
"Mighty Five," 228
migration (*see also* immigration; refugees), 161–67, 161–67; by Armenians, 161; freedom of, 420; by Germans, 161, 191; issues, 162–65; by Jews, 37, 161, 216–17, 218–19; by Koreans, 192; patterns, 165–67; from rural areas, 156, 247–48; to rural areas, 156; from Russia, 156–57; to Russia, 124, 154, 156–57, 162, 448, 450; by Russians, lxxxi, 164, 165, 166, 448, 450; from Soviet Union, 161
migration, internal, 161–62; passport for, 161, 164, 283, 293; restrictions, 164–65; to urban areas, 156
Mikoyan-Gurevich (MiG) Aviation-Scientific Production Complex, 517; research and development, 520
military communications, 367
military conscription: failure, 549–50; under Peter the Great, 22; resistance to, lviii, 255
military doctrine, lvii, of the future, 499–501
military doctrine, Soviet, lvi, 495–96; basis, 495; defense-oriented, 496; emphasis, 496; and high-technology war, 496; and reasonable sufficiency,

496
military doctrine of 1993, lvii, 436, 494–501; approved, 497; and border security, 497; and chain of command, 525; defensive, 489; economic principles, 499; goals, 497, 498; interim, 497–98; military principles, 498–99; military-technical principles, 499; offensive, 489; official definition, 496; and peacekeeping role, 497; political principles, 497–98; and weapons of mass destruction, 499
military-industrial complex. *See* defense industry
military officers, lvi, lvii, 541; crime by, 546, 576; under Peter the Great, 22, 490; political, 492, 493
military schools, 492, 547
military service: alternative, 420; resistance to, 255, 549
Military Service, Law on, 549
military technology: Western influence on, 20, 21
military training, 504, 541, 544, 547–48; in the field, 547–48; in schools, 547
Military University, 547
militia. *See* police
Minatom. *See* Atomic Energy, Ministry of
minerals, lxvii; export of, 376
mining: of coal, 137, 189, 190; of diamonds, 190; geographic distribution, 181, 182, 183, 185; of gold, 181, 189, 190, 191; of iron, 181, 185, 189, 190; pollution caused by, 137, 138
minorities. *See* ethnic groups; nationalities
Mirzayanov, Vil', 586, 588
Missile Technology Control Regime (1993), 456
missionaries, lxv, 210–11; registration of, 211; restrictions on, cvi, 211
Mitsubishi, 339
Mitsui, 339
MMM investment company, 345
Mogila (Mohyla), Metropolitan, 20
Moldavian Republic: ethnic clashes in, 114; independence movement in, 114
Moldova, 450, 506–7; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 450; ethnic Russians in, 450; foreign policy toward, 450; military intervention in, xci, 490, 506, 507; and NATO, lxxxviii
Molniya satellite communications system, 368
Molotov, Vyacheslav, 76; purged, 85, 87
Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. *See* Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact
monasteries, 203, 204–6
monetary policy, 342; credits, 309, 342; under Yeltsin, lxix, 309
Mongolia: border of Russia with, 126; relations with, xcv; troop withdrawal from, 501
Mongols (*see also* Golden Horde), 12; influences of, 11; invasions by, 3, 10–11, 174, 187
Montenegro: in Balkan wars, 49
Montreal Protocol, 153
Mordovia, Republic of, 175, 186–87; economic sovereignty, 197, 414; economy, 186; ethnic groups, 186; population, 186; religion, 186; social structure, 186
Mordovian people, 172, 186; as percentage of population, 153, 173, 186, 187
Mormons, 213
Morozov, Boris, 17
Mosbusinessbank, 343
Moscow, 126; birthrate, 268; crime, 572–73; defense, 493; defense industry, 515; economic power, lxvi, 320; elite class, lxvi; gay community in, 257; government moved to, 62; HIV infection rate, 274; homeless population, 292–93; industry, 34, 352, 354; investment in, lxvi, 320; occupations of, 15; origin, 10; political unrest in, 45; pollution in, lxii, 137–38, 139, 140; population, 154, 160; privatization in, 320; refugees in, 162–63, 164; status, 409; subway system, 364, 367; unemployment, 349
Moscow, patriarchate of, 15
Moscow Aircraft Production Association (MAPO), 517
Moscow Basin: coal in, 336
Moscow International Bank, 344
Moscow International Currency Exchange (MICEX), 345
Moscow Military District, 529, 530, 541
Moscow Oblast: population growth, 157
Moscow State University, 265; founded, 24; business school, 266
Mother Heroines, 288
mountains, 126–29, 130–32

Mozambique: Soviet influence in, 94
Mstislavich Dynasty, 10
Murmansk, 363
Muscovy, 3, 11–20; expansion of, 3, 12, 14, 18, 174; influences of, 3, 11; origins, 9; rise of, 11–12; wars of, 19
music, 228–30; ballet, 229; under Brezhnev, 97–98; classical, 32, 228–30; folk, 228,230; jazz, 230; opera, 228, 229; rock, 230; of Roma, 193; in Soviet Union, 97–98, 229, 230
Muslims (*see also* Islam): number of, 202; political parties of, 43; repression of, 179; in Russian Empire, 28
Musorgskiy, Modest, 228
MVD. *See* Ministry for Internal Affairs

Nagorno-Karabakh, 113, 114; peacekeeping troops in, xcv, ci, 453, 459, 505, 506; refugees from, 162
Nagy, Imre, 89; rehabilitated, 103
Nakhodka, 363, 477
Napoleon: invasion of Russia, 29–30; wars against, 28–31, 491
narcotics (*see also* drug addiction; drug trafficking), 272–73, 575–77; availability, 244; international conventions on, 577; legalized use, 273; production, 576; users, 272
Narodnaya, Mount, 131
Narodniki. *See* Populists
Nateq-Noori, Ali Akbar, xcvii
nationalism: Russian, 31–32, 82
nationalist factions, lxv, lxxii, lxxvi, lxxviii, lxxxiv, lxxxvii, xc, xci, xcii, xciii
Nationalist Party (China). *See* Guomindang
nationalities (*see also* ethnic groups; *see also under individual nationalities*), 123, 174–94; birthrates, 157; under constitution, 219; inclusion, 25; number, 172; origins, 9; political parties, 42; regions for, liv, 408; rights, 386, 420; Russification, 37; suppression of, 31
nationality problems: under Gorbachev, 112–17; under Russian Empire, 4, 27; in Russian Federation, 195, 200–201
nationalization: of banking, 300; of industry, 65, 70, 71, 300; of land, 300; of trade, 300
National Patriotic Union of Russia, lxxviii
national security: collective pact for, 449; conceptual theses on, 500–501; criticism of, 423; as foreign policy problem, 459–60; policy, ci, 446–47, 490, 501; strategies to protect, 500; threats, 90, 437, 453, 461, 467, 498, 500, 501
National Socialist German Workers' Party. *See* Nazi Party
NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
natural gas, 335–36; consumption, 332, 338; deposits, 332; export, 309, 331, 332, 339, 376; fields, 129, 335; foreign investment, 338–40; geographic distribution, 177, 180, 184, 185, 190; hard currency from, 323, 331; prices, 376; production, 335; reserves, 321–23, 335; taxes on, 309, 339, 347
natural resources, lxvii, 195, 297, 321–23; access to, lxvii, lxxxvi, 436; of Bashkortostan, 185; of Buryatia, 189; of Chuvashia, 196; of Mari El, 196; of Sakha, 190, 197; of Tatarstan, 187
Natural Resources, Ministry of, lxxix
navy: access to Black Sea, 37; aviation force, 532; conscripts, 531; fleets, 532–33, 544; matériel, 519, 532, 533; mission, 531–32, 533; modernized, 490; personnel, 531; origins, 22; under Peter the Great, 21, 22; pollution by, 147; shortages, 544; readiness, 543–44; training, 544
Nazarbayev, Nursultan, xciii
Nazdratenko, Yevgeniy, lxxxv, 414
Nazi Party: Soviet support for, 75
Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact (1939), 56, 76; repudiated, 77
near abroad: collective security with, 449; foreign policy toward, 447–48; immigration from, 166; influence in, 447; military actions in, 447–48, 490; relations with, 433, 436, 442, 474; Russians in, lvi, 124, 433, 435, 448; security in, 559; trade with, 376
Nechayev, Sergey, 40
neformaly, 108–9
Neftegorsk: destroyed, 132
Neizvestnyy, Ernest, 234
Nekrasov, Nikolay, 225
Nemtsov, Boris, lxxix, cvi
Nenets Autonomous Region, 176

Nenets people, 160
NEP. *See* New Economic Policy
Nerchinsk, Treaty of (1689), 19
New Economic Policy (NEP), 65–70, 300; discontinued, 71
newspapers (*see also* media), 423–24; number of, 423; privatized, 371–72; quality, 424
New Regional Policy faction, 417
Nezavisimaya gazeta, 423, 424
Nicaragua: relations with, 481, 482; Soviet influence in, 94, 481
Nicholas I (r. 1825–55), 31–33; death, 33; foreign policy, 32; as gendarme of Europe, 32, 491
Nicholas II (r. 1894–1917): abdication, 55, 58; executed, 64; foreign relations under, 43; reforms under, 5, 47–48; in World War I, 50, 57–58
Nigeria: relations with, 478
Nijinsky, Vaslav, 231
Nikolayev, Andrey, 568
Nikitin, Aleksandr, lxi
Nizhniy Novgorod: industry, 352, 354, 522; population, 154; subway system, 364
Nizhniy Tagil: defense industry in, 518; metallurgical combine, 351; pollution in, 139
NKVD. *See* People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
Nobel Prize for Literature, 226, 227
Nobel Prize for Peace, 105
nobles: education for, 22; military service by, 22, 490; under Peter the Great, 22; privileges, 18; state service, 17–18, 22, 26
Nobles' Land Bank, 36
Nogay people, 172, 179; origins of, 179
nomenklatura, lxvi, 240, 241
Nonaligned Movement, 477
Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Treaty on the (1970), 95, 438, 457, 499, 513
Noril'sk, 129; cancer in, 268; pollution in, 139; population, 129
Noril'sk Nickel Joint-Stock Company, 317, 352
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 463–64; in Bosnia, 464; cooperation with, lxxxvii, 437; criticism of, 464; expansion of, lxxxvii, lxxxviii–lxxxix, xc, xcii, xciv, xcviii–xcix, ci, 460, 484, 510; as foreign policy problem, 438, 459–60, 463–64, 467, 468, 512–13; members, 456, 458, 460, 463–64, 467; membership, lxxxix, 456; origins, 84; as security threat, 461, 484, 500–501
North Caucasus, 176–83; ethnic groups, 172; immigration to, 166; industry, 355; infant mortality, 270; oil fields, 332; sovereignty movement, 171
North Caucasus Military District, 529, 531, 535, 541
North Dvina River, 133; pollution of, 141
Northern Fleet, 532, 534; mission, 533
Northern Lights natural gas pipeline, 364
Northern Military District, 536, 541
Northern Territories, 471–72
North Korea. *See* Korea, Democratic People's Republic of
North Ossetia, Republic of, 175; agriculture, 183; area, 182; ethnic groups, 174, 182; Ingushetia's claim in, 178; mining in, 183, 323; population, 157, 182; refugees from, 200; refugees in, 165
North Siberian Lowland, 129, 131
Northwest Association, lxxxvi, 414
Norway: aid from, 147; border of Russia with, 126
The Nose (Shostakovich), 229
Novgorod, Republic of, 9; political structure, 9; tribute to Mongols, 10
Novgorod Oblast: architecture of, 232; population growth, 157
Novodvorskaya, Valeriya, 255
Novokuznetsk: pollution in, 139
Novolipetsk: metallurgical combine, 351
Novorossiysk, 363
Novosibirsk: defense industry, 519; pollution in, 140; population, 154; subway system, 364
Novovoronezh nuclear reactor, 337
NPG. *See* Independent Miners' Union
NPRUP. *See* Independent Trade Union of Workers in the Coal-Mining Industry
NTV. *See* Independent Television
nuclear arms, 513–15, 537; in Belarus, 452, 513, 539; buildup, 95, 461, 493, 500; in China, 89; control talks, 100,

103; deactivation, 513; deployment, 100, 454, 458, 495–96; disposal, 513; in Kazakstan, 513, 539; in national security doctrine, ci; in North Korea, 476; number of, 513; pollution from, 137, 147; reduction, 442, 513; security, 513, 514, 574–75; testing, 137, 459; theft, 337, 513–14, 574; threat, 454; transfer, 453, 458; in Ukraine, 453, 458, 513, 539
nuclear energy consumption, 332
nuclear energy generation, 337–38; accidents from, 107, 137, 147, 267; financial problems, 337; new capacity, 337–38; pollution from, lxi, 137, 138, 146–48, 268, 337, 472, 514; reactors, 337
nuclear materials: disposal, 337; illness caused by, 268; theft, 337, 513–14
Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. *See* Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons
nuclear technology sales: to China, 469; to Cuba, 460, 483; to Iran, lxxxviii, 456, 457, 459, 460, 480
nuclear war: views of, 88
Nur All-Russia Muslim Public Movement, 216
Nureyev, Rudolf, 231
The Nutcracker (Tchaikovsky), 229
Nystad, Treaty of (1721), 22

oblasts, 409
Ob' River: hydroelectric plant on, 338
October Manifesto (1905), 45
Octobrists, 46, 47
OECD. *See* Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Ogarkov, Nikolay, 101, 496
oil, 332–35; companies, 332–35; consumption, 332; exploration, 332, 335, 339; export, 309, 331, 332, 335, 339, 375, 376; fields, xcii, 129, 332; foreign investment, 338–40; geographic distribution, 177, 180, 184, 185, 187, 201, 332; hard currency from, 323, 331; prices, 376; production, 41, 332; reserves, 332; spills, 138; taxes on, 309, 339, 347, 374; waste of, 332
Oil and Gas, Law on (1995), 378
Oirot people. *See* Kalmyk people
Oka River: pollution of, 141
Okhrana, 37
Okudzhava, Bulat, 230
Old Church Slavonic: development of, 222
Oleg, 6
Olesha, Yuriy, 226
Olympic boycotts: Los Angeles, 101; Moscow, 95, 454
Oman: in Caspian Pipeline Consortium, c
OMON. *See* Special Forces Police Detachment
Omsk: industry, 355; pollution in, 139; population, 154
One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich (Solzhenitsyn), 227
Onega, Lake, 133; pollution of, 142
Operation Hurricane, 584
Operation Barbarossa, 56, 78
Operational-Investigative Activity, Law on (1995), 584
Opium War, Second (1856–60), 38
oprichnina, 14
Order Number One, 59
Orenburg gas field, 364; pipeline, 364
Orenburg Oblast: immigration to, 165; power sharing by, 411
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): membership in, 372
Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 464; cooperation with,437; peacekeeping by, 450; treaty obligations of, 498
Organization of American States: ties with, 481
Organs of the Federal Security Service, Law on (1995), 5663, 564
Orlov, Aleksey, 24
ORT. *See* Russian Public Television
OSCE. *See* Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
Ossetia: annexed, 182
Ossetians: immigration by, 164; language, 182; origins, 182; as percentage of population, 182
Ostrovskiy, Aleksandr, 225
Ostrovskiy, Nikolay, 226
Ottoman Empire: in Balkan wars, 49; peace with, 21; relations with, 7, 32; wars with, 6, 21–22, 24, 25, 26, 32, 33, 39, 491

Our Home Is Russia party, 417–18; in 1995 elections, 419; in 1996 elections, lxxvii

Pacific Fleet, 532, 534–35
painting, 232–34; ancient, 232; of icons, 232, 233; impressionist, 233; realistic, 233
Pak, Zinoviy, 516, 524
Pakistan: relations with, 474
Pale of Settlement, 25, 217
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO): relations with, 479
Palestinians: Soviet support for, 94
Pal'm, Viktor: in Interregional Group, 112
Pamfilova, Ella, 255
Pamyat', 258
Paramonova, Tat'yana, 255, 312, 313, 341
Pardons Commission, 588
Paris, Treaty of (1856), 37
Paris Club, lxix, 379
parliament (*see also* Federal Assembly), 400–406; conflicts with Yeltsin, lxviii, lxxvi, 385, 405–6, 442, 560–61; dissolved, lxxvi, 385, 390, 442, 443; factions, lxxxvii, 417; foreign policy, 442–44; threats to dissolve, 562; women in, 255
Partnership for Economic Progress (PFEP), 459
Partnership for Peace (PfP) program, xciv, 437, 460, 464, 467, 512
passport, internal, 161, 164, 283, 293; fees for, 293
Pasternak, Boris, 217, 226
Patrikeyev, Valeriy, 527
Paul I (r. 1796–1801), 28; assassinated, 29
Pavlov, Valentin, 106, 117
Pavlova, Anna, 231
Peace Agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina (1995), 464
peacekeeping forces: in Armenia, c–ci, 505; in Azerbaijan, 458, 459; in Bosnia, xci, 460, 468; in Central Asia, 490, 491, 498, 507–9; in Georgia, xci, 448, 449, 451, 456, 458, 459, 505, 570; in Moldova, xci, 490, 506, 507; in Nagorno-Karabakh, 453, 459, 505, 506; strategic importance, 504; in Tajikistan, xci, 448, 449, 451,458, 459, 507–8, 570
Peasant Farms, Law on (1990), 328
Peasant Land Bank, 36
peasants: agricultural role after emancipation, 34; in armed forces, 490; deported, 72; escapes by, 18; forced collectivization, 56, 71–72, 108; government requisitions from, 65; in Kievan Rus', 8; as kulaks, 72; literacy, 36; living conditions, 241, 244; political parties, 42; reforms for, 47; in 1905 revolution, 4–5, 45; under the Romanovs, 18, 34, 36; starvation of, 72, 108; state, 18, 34; traditional justice by, 35; uprisings, 65; wages, 96; under war communism, 65
Pechora River, 133
Peipus, Lake, 133
pensioners: employment, 246, 287; income, 287; number, 287; sex ratio among, 288; support for, 286
Pension Fund, lxiii, 286–87; administration, 287; budget, 287
pensions, lxii, 286–88; categories, 287; indexation, lxii, lxiii, 287, 288; nonpayment, lxiii, lxxxii, civ, 287; reform, lxiii, 287–88
Pentecostal Church, 212, 213
People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (NKVD), 73, 556
People's Will, 41
perestroika, lxviii, 105–7, 298, 304–6; campaign, 106; in industry, 106; investment under, 377; and migration, 161; results of, 106–7, 466; and trade, 305
Pereyaslavl', Treaty of (1654), 19
periodicals, 424; number of, 423; thick journals, 225, 228
Perm' Oblast: power sharing by, 411
Permyak Autonomous Region, 176
Perov, Vasiliy, 233
Perry, William, xc
Persian Gulf, 438; policy toward, 479
Persian Gulf War (1990–91): support for, 104–5, 455, 479
Peru: relations with, 482; Soviet involvement in, 481
Pervomayskoye: destroyed, 199, 502
Peshcherskiy monastyr' (Monastery of the Caves), 7
Peter the Great (Peter I) (r. 1682–1725),

20–23; architecture under, 232–33; armed forces under, 21, 490; ballet under, 230; as co-tsar, 21; crowned, 21; Grand Embassy of, 21; literature under, 223; reforms under, 21–23, 204; religion under, 204; successor to, 23; Western influence under, 4, 21, 230, 232–33
Peter II (r. 1727–30), 23
Peter III (r. 1762): crowned, 24; deposed, 24
Petipa, Marius, 231
Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, 58; factions, 59; Trotsky as chairman, 60
Petropavlosk-Kamchatskiy, 363
Petrushka (Stravinskiy), 229
PFEP. *See* Partnership for Economic Progress
PfP. *See* Partnership for Peace
Pil'nyak, Boris, 226
pipelines, 364; through Chechnya, c, 502; gas, xciii, 336, 364, 453, 502; network, 364; petroleum, xciii, 177, 335, 364, 502
Plekhanov, Georgiy, 41
PLO. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization
Pobedonostsev, Konstantin, 37
Podgornyy, Nikolay, 92
poetry, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227
pogroms, 217
Poland: border with, 63, 126; elections in, 103; Galicia annexed by, 10; industry, 34; influences by, 20; martial law in, 465; Moscow occupied by, 15; in NATO, lxxxviii, 463–64; oppression under, 19; partitioned, 25, 76; political parties, 42; reforms in, 25; relations with, 17; Soviet influence in, 83, 465; Soviet invasion of, 77, 465; Soviet troops withdrawn from, 104, 163, 501; trade with, 375; uprisings against, 18–19; uprisings in, 25, 32, 45, 89, 465, 491; wars against, 14, 19, 24, 63
Poland, Kingdom of: created, 30
Polar Lights, 339
Poles, 173; discrimination against, 48; political parties of, 42; in Russian Empire, 25, 28; Russification of, 37
Polevanov, Viktor, 316
police (militia), 558, 578, 579–80; cooperation with organized crime, lx, lxxi–lxxii, cii, 574, 580; corruption, lx, lxxii, cii, 580; functions, 579, 583, 584; human rights abuses by, 580–81; inadequacy, 580; organization, 580; reform, 578; weapons, 580, 583
police, secret (*see also* Committee for State Security): under Bolshevik rule, 62; in Russian Empire, 28, 31, 37; under Stalin, 73
Polish Socialist Party, 42
Politburo (Political Bureau): foreign policy under, 431; members, 93; purged, 67
Political Bureau. *See* Politburo
political demonstrations: against subsidy cuts, cv; against World War I, 59
political opposition: against Yeltsin, lxxvi, lxxviii, lxxxiv, lxxvii; in Belarus, xciii; suppression of, 559
political parties (*see also under individual parties*): under constitution of 1993, 415; creation, 417–18; in elections of 1993, 416; of nationalities, 42; peasant, 42; Polish, 42; working class, 42
political unrest: of intelligentsia, 33; under Romanovs, 18, 33, 51; in World War I, 50
political uprisings: by nationalities, 113, 184; by peasants, 65; against Poles, 18; of 1648, 17, 18–19; of 1905, 45; of 1917, 52, 58
pollution: and acid rain, 146; of air, ciii, lxi, 123, 137, 138–39; diseases caused by, ciii, 268; geographic distribution of, 143; radioactive, lxi, 137, 138, 146–48, 268, 337, 472, 514; of water, lxi, 123, 137, 138, 139–44
Poltava, Battle of (1709), 490
Poor Lisa (Karamzin), 224
Popov, Gavriil: in Interregional Group, 112
Popov, Valeriy, 227
Poptsov, Oleg, 426
popular fronts: growth, 108–9; in republics, 108, 113, 114
Popular Movement for Perestroika (Rukh), 114
population, 153–67; age distribution, 155, 161; decreases, lxiv, 153, 154, 155; density, 154; distribution, liii, 33–34, 123, 129, 130, 154; ethnic distribution,

153, 173; in 1995, 124, 154; projected, ciii; in taiga, 130; in tundra, 129
population statistics: birthrate, 124, 155, 156, 157, 158, 268; death rate, 157, 159, 267; fertility rate, 157–58, 269; growth rate, 34, 269; infant mortality rate, 97, 158, 269–70, 278; life expectancy, 97, 124, 155, 159–60, 267; maternal mortality rate, 158; mortality rate, 124, 155; sex ratio, 155, 267
Populists, 40
ports, 129, 363; access to, 436
Potanin, Vladimir, lxx
Potsdam Conference (1945), 83
poverty, 154–55; of families, 244; increase in, lxii, lxv, lxvi, 285–86; in middle class, 244; number living in, 245; among state employees, 244, 245; subsistence minimum, 292
Prague Spring, 94
Pravda, 423, 424
Presbyterian Church, 213
presidency, 112; established, 387
president (*see also* executive branch): as commander in chief, 396, 525; conflicts with parliament, 406, 442–43; election, 396–99; foreign policy, 439–40; informal powers, 394–96; powers, 391, 392–96, 412–13, 564; qualifications, 396; staff, 394; succession to, lxxxiv, 393, 396–97; term of office, 396
Presidential Elections, Law on (1995), 397
Presidential Press Service, 395–96
Presidential Security Service, 440, 566, 567
press (*see also* journalists; media; newspapers): freedom of, 420
Prevention of AIDS, Law on (1990), 274
price controls, 298, 299, 302, 303, 308–9, 321, 331
price decontrol, lxviii, lxix, 313
Primakov, Yevgeniy, lxxviii, lxxxvii, lxxxix, xcv, xcviii, 104, 446, 474, 482, 484
Primary Chronicle, 6, 222
prime minister, 391, 399; appointment, 404; staff, 400
Primorskiy Territory. *See* Maritime Territory
Prince Igor' (Borodin), 228
Principles of the Forest (1993), 146
Principles of Relations, Treaty on (1992), 477
prisoners, political: under Khrushchev, 87; psychiatric hospitalization of, 276–77
prison inmates: amnesty for, cii; awaiting trial, cii, 407, 590; drug addiction, 390; number of, cii, 589, 590
prisons, 588–91; budget, ciii; conditions, lx–lxi, cii, 589–90; labor camps, 588–89; overcrowding, cii, 589, 591; reforms, lx, ciii, 591
private sector: under Gorbachev, 304; as percentage of gross domestic product, 380
privatization, lxviii, lxix, civ–cv, 314–18, 380–81; corruption scandals, lxix–lxx, lxxvii, 316–17, 561; financing, 344; goals, cv; of housing, lxvi, cv, 282; investigations into, 317; of land, 284; of media, 425; in Moscow, 320; resistance to, civ–cv; share sales for, lxx, 316; of state enterprises, 299, 318; of telecommunications, cv, 368, 369, 371–72; vouchers for, 315–16
Privatization of Housing, Law on (1991), 282
Procuracy, 558, 582, 591; corruption, lxxii, 582; personnel, 582; reforms, 582; role, 582
procurator general, lxi; appointment, 394
Production-Sharing Agreement (1995), 378
Progressive Bloc, 51
Prokof'yev, Sergey, 229, 230
proletariat (*see also* workers): living conditions, 240–41; origins, 4
Promstroybank. *See* Industry and Construction Bank
property, private, 420
prostitution, 253
Protestantism (*see also under individual denominations*), lxv, 212; ethnic affiliations with, 212; followers, 212; missionaries, 211
Protocol Directorate, 396
provinces: organization of, 26
Provisional Government (1917), 55, 492; constituents of, 59; organized, 58; overthrown, 61; religion under, 206; rights granted by, 59

Prudnikov, Viktor, 544
Prussia (*see also* Germany): and partition of Poland, 25; in Quadruple Alliance, 30; relations with, 37, 38
Pskov, 12
Pskov Oblast: population growth, 157
publishing: private, 227–28; samizdat, 226, 227
Pugachev, Emel'yan, 26
Pugachev Uprising, 26
Pugo, Boris, 117
purges: cultural, 82; in Eastern Europe, 84; of Jews, 218; by KGB, lix, 556; of party, 82; of Politburo, 67; under Stalin, 56, 70–71, 72–74, 82, 84, 493
Pushkin, Aleksandr, 32, 224–25
Putoran Mountains, 131
Pyatigorsk: hostage crisis in, 571

Quaker missionaries, 210
The Quiet Don (Sholokhov), 226
Qizilqum Desert: expansion of, 144
Quqon (Kokand) Khanate: annexed, 38

Rabin, Oskar, 234
Rachmaninov, Sergey, 229
radio, 371–72; programming, 371, 424–25; sets, number of, 372, 424; in Soviet system, 423; transmission operations, 371
Radishchev, Aleksandr, 27, 224
Rahmonov, Imomali, xciv
railroads, 359–60; construction, 44, 48; debts to, cv; development, 34, 36, 41, 42; network, 34, 359; reform, cv
Rapallo, Treaty of (1922), 69
Rasputin, 51; assassinated, 51
Rastrelli, Bartolomeo, 232-33
Razin, Stenka, 18
RCB. *See* Russian Central Bank
Reagan, Ronald W., 99–100; summit meetings with Gorbachev, 102–3, 454–55
reconstruction, 81–82
Red Army, 492; casualties in, 493; in Civil War, 62; communists in, 492; purges in, 493; terror by, 64–65; under Trotsky, 62
Red Terror, 64–65
reform: under Alexander II, 34–37; under Catherine II, 26–27; demands for, 4–5; under Gorbachev, 57, 102, 109–12; under Khrushchev, 85–86, 90–91; under Nicholas II, 5; under Peter the Great, 21–23; in Poland, 25; resistance to, 47–48, 388; under Stolypin, 46–47; under Yeltsin, liv, lxxvi, 388
refugees (*see also* immigration; migration): from Chechnya, lxxxi, 200; geographic distribution, 166–67, 200; illegal, 162; laws on, 163; number, 162, 164; origins, 162; registration, 163; resentment toward, 165; support for, 163
Regent, Tat'yana, 255
religion (*see also under individual sects*), lxiv–lxv, 202–20; animist, 186; under Bolsheviks, 206–7; under Brezhnev, 98; censorship of, 37; and foreign policy, 220; freedom of, 172, 202–3, 211, 420; under Gorbachev, 208; influences on, 171; under Khrushchev, 207; in Kievan Rus', 7, 173; persecution of, 37, 75, 206, 212; practice, 98, 171; restrictions on, cvi–cvii, 211; revival, xcvi, 207–8; under Stalin, 75
Repin, Il'ya, 233
Republican Party, 255
reservoirs, 133–34, 145
Revolution of 1905, 4–5, 44–45; origins, 45
revolutionary movements, 40–41; under Alexander II, 30, 40; Decembrist, 30–31; Jews in, 217
Rimskiy-Korsakov, Nikolay, 228
The Rite of Spring (Stravinskiy), 229, 231
rivers: geographic distribution of, 133; in Siberia, 129; transportation on, 363
roads, 359; maintenance, 359; network, 359
Rodionov, Igor', lviii, lix, lxxix, cii, 526
Rodionov, Petr, cvi
Roma (Gypsies), 193–94; discrimination against, 193–94; occupations, 193; origins, 192–93; population, 192; Russka, 193; Vlach, 193
Roman Catholic Church, lxv; and ecumenism, 211
Roman Catholicism: missionaries, 210
Roman Catholics: in Russian Federation, 213; in Russian Empire, 28

Romania: environmental protection in, 142; Soviet influence over, 76, 83, 89, 94, 465; Soviet invasion of, 77, 465
Roman Mstislavich, Prince, 10
Romanov, Mikhail: proclaimed tsar, 15
Romanov Dynasty, 15, 17–18
Roosevelt, Theodore, 44
Rosgosstrakh. *See* Russian State Insurance Company
Rossel', Eduard, lxxxv
Rossel'bank, 343; branches of, 344
Rossiyskaya gazeta, 424
Rossiyskiye vesti, 424
Rossugol', 336
Rostelekom. *See* Russian Telecommunications
Rostov, 9, 12
Rostov-na-Donu: HIV infection rate in, 274
Rostov Oblast: pollution in, 140; power sharing by, 411
Rostropovich, Mstislav, 229
Rosvneshtorgbank. *See* Foreign Trade Bank
Rosvooruzheniye. *See* State Corporation for Export and Import of Armaments
Royal Dutch Shell, 339
Rubinstein, Anton, 228
Rubinstein, Nikolay, 228
ruble. *See* currency
ruble zone: conditions for, 452; Tajikistan in, 451
Rublev, Andrey, 232
Rukh. *See* Popular Movement for Perestroika
Rukhin, Yevgeniy, 234
rural areas, 247–48; education in, 260, 264; migration from, 156, 247–48; migration to, 156, 248; social mobility in, 247; soviets in, 247
Rurik, 6
Rurik Dynasty, 12
Rus'ka pravda, 7
Ruslan and Lyudmila (Glinka), 228
Russian Central Bank (RCB), 308, 309, 341; chairman, 341, 393; credits issued by, 311, 342; debt service under, 342; exchange rates under, 314, 342; money supply under, lxxii, 342
Russian-Chinese Bank, 44
Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) (*see also* All-Union Communist Party [Bolshevik]; Bolsheviks; Russian Social Democratic Labor Party), 115; membership, 492; party congresses, 66; religion under, 206; Soviet Union established by, 55
Russian Communist Party, 116; banned, 118; established, 387
Russian Empire: in Continental Blockade, 29; expansion of, 3, 24, 38, 174, 201, 491; industrial development under, 34; in League of the Three Emperors, 38–39; nationality problems, 4, 216–17; origins, 3, 20; palace revolutions in, 23–24; and partition of Poland, 25; in Quadruple Alliance, 30; in Triple Entente, 48; in World War I, 50–52
Russian Far East: climate, 134
Russian language, 220–22; under Brezhnev, 221; under constitution of 1993, 391; compulsory study of, 221; dominance of, 172, 177; use in Soviet republics, 221; as official language, 221, 391
Russian Music Society, 228
Russian Orthodox Church, 15, 183, 185, 203–10; anti-Semitism in, 219; beliefs, 203; brotherhoods, 209; under communism, 202, 206–7; cooperation with government, lxiv, lxv, 171–72, 204, 210; dominant postion, lxv, cvi–cvi, 211, 213–14; and ecumenism, 211; followers, 202, 234; history, 203–10; isolation, 19–20, 204; laws regarding, 208; millennium of, lxv, 208; monasteries, 203, 204–6; origins, 203–4; parishes, 207, 209; in public opinion, 209–10; repression of, 48, 206; rituals, 203; schism, 19–20, 204; social services, 209; structure, 203; under tsarism, 22, 28, 202, 204
Russian people, 123, 172, 173–74; in Adygea, 176; in Bashkortostan, 184–85; birthrates, 157; in Buryatia, 188; in Chechnya, 177; in Chuvashia, 186; in Dagestan, 179; dual citizenship, 448, 453, 421; ethnic conflicts, 195, 199, 433, 435; in Gorno-Altay, 189; immigration by, 164, 165, 166, 448, 450; institutions of, 386, 387; in Kabardino-Balkaria, 180; in Kalmykia, 181; in Karachay-Cherkessia, 182; in Karelia,

183; in Khakassia, 190; in Komi, 184; as majority ethnic group, liv, 153, 171, 176, 386, 408, 453; in Mari El, 186; in Mordovia, 186; nationalism of, 113, 115–16; in near abroad, 124, 433, 435, 448, 451, 452, 453, 508, 509; in North Ossetia, 182; origins, 9, 174; in Russian Federation, 124, 153; in Sakha, 190; in Tatarstan, 187; in Tyva, 191; in Udmurtia, 188
Russian People's Friendship University, 265
Russian People's Republican party, lxxx
Russian Poland. *See* Poland, Kingdom of
Russian Public Television (ORT), 371, 425
Russian Republic: borders, 63, 64; declaration of sovereignty, 116, 386–87; nationality issues in, 115–16; distribution of power in, 409–10; in Soviet Union, 55, 66; Virgin Lands campaign in, 90–91
Russian River Fleet, 363
Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (*see also* Bolsheviks; Mensheviks; Russian Communist Party [Bolshevik]), 42; factions of, 43, 59; party congresses, 43; in Petrograd Soviet, 59
Russian State Insurance Company (Rosgosstrakh): privatized, 317
Russian State Television, 371; privatized, 371
Russian Telecommunications (Rostelekom), lxix–lxx, 368
Russian Women's Party, 255
Russia-United States International Space Station, lxxiv
Russification, 116; and language, 221; of nationalities, 37; origins, 26; by religion, 207; resistance to, 4
Russia's Choice party (*see also* Russia's Democratic Choice), 149, 416
Russia's Democratic Choice party (*see also* Russia's Choice), 150, 419; in 1995 elections, 419
Russo-Japanese War (1904–05), 4, 43–44, 471, 491
Rutskoy, Aleksandr, lxxxiv, 417; as president, 390
Rutul people, 179
Ryazan', 12
Rybinsk Reservoir, 133
Rybkin, Ivan, lxxx, 417
Rybkin bloc, 417
Ryzhkov, Nikolay, 106

Sadko (Rimskiy-Korsakov), 228
Sagalayev, Eduard, 425
St. Basil's Cathedral, 232
St. Petersburg (*see also* Leningrad), 126; architecture, 232–33; birthrate, 268; climate, 135; construction of, 23; crime, 572–73; defense industry, 515; HIV infection rate, 274; industry, 34, 354; pollution in, lxii, 139; population, 154, 160; power sharing by, 411; status, 409; subway system, 364
St. Petersburg Maritime Port, 363; privatized, 317
St. Petersburg nuclear reactor, 337
St. Petersburg State University, 265
St. Petersburg Television, 371
Sakha, Republic of (Yakutia), 126, 175, 190; area, 190; economy, 190; ethnic groups, 190; natural resources, lxii, 190, 197; population, 157, 190; sovereignty, lv, 197, 414
Sakhalin Island: ceded to Japan, 44, 471; Koreans in, 192
Sakharov, Andrey: in Interregional Group, 110
salinization, 138
SALT. *See* Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
Saltykov-Shchedrin, Mikhail, 225
Salvation Army: homeless services, 293; missionaries, 210
Samara: pollution in, 139; population, 154; subway system, 364
samizdat, 226, 227
Samsonov, Viktor, cii
San Stefano, Treaty of (1878), 39
Saratov: immigration to, 165
Saudi Arabia: relations with, 105, 478; visits to, 479
Savings Bank (Sberbank), 340; branches, 344; reorganized, 343
Sayan Aluminum, 352
Sayan Mountains, 130
Sberbank. *See* Savings Bank
Scheherezade (Rimskiy-Korsakov), 228
Schnittke, Alfred, 230
schools: business, 265–66; curricula, 36,

262; enrollment, 260, 263; grade structure, 262–63; infrastructure, 260; in Kievan Rus', 7; military, 492; number of, 260; under Peter the Great, 22; primary, 36; private, lxiv, 263–64; problems, 258–59; religious, 216, 219–20; rural, 260; secondary, 263; tuition, 263; urban, 260
science: under Brezhnev, 97; collectivized, 74; language in, 221; Marxist theories of, 74–75; under Stalin, 82
Scythians, 5
The Seagull (Chekhov), 225
Sea of Azov: pollution of, 138
Sea of Japan: pollution of, 147, 472, 514
secrecy laws, 585–86
securities market, 344–45; irregularities in, 345; treasury bonds in, lxxii–lxxiii, lxxv, 345
Security, Ministry of (MB) (*see also* Federal Counterintelligence Service), 560; Committee for the Protection of State Borders, 568; control of, 560; counterintelligence by, 560; dismantled, 562; missions, 560, 561–62; personnel, 560; powers, 560
Security Council, ci, 394–95, 440–42; function, 440; head, lxxx, lxxxiii, 398, 523; Interdepartmental Foreign Policy Commission, 435, 441; meetings, 441; members, 440–41
Seleznev, Gennadiy, lxxxiii
Semenov, Vladimir, 545
Semipalatinsk: nuclear testing at, 137
Serbia: arms embargo against, 522; policy toward, 443–44, 445, 467, 480; Russian protection of, 39, 49; sanctions against, xci, 468
Serbs, 173
serfs, 18, 20, 71; emancipation, 4, 27, 34–35; post-emancipation agricultural role, 34
Sergeyev, Igor', cii, 542
services sector: under Chernenko, 100; denationalized, 66; employment in, 347; energy consumption by, 338; under New Economic Program, 66; as percentage of gross domestic product, 319
Sevastopol': jurisdiction dispute, xcii, ci; siege of, 491
Seventh-Day Adventist Church, 212, 213
Seven-Year Plan (1959–65), 91
Seven Years' War (1756–63), 24
Severstal' Joint-Stock Company, 351
sexual attitudes, ciii, 255–58; toward homosexuality, 257–58; toward premarital sex, 257
sexual harassment, 252–53, 254, 256
Shaimiyev, Mintimer, lxxxvi
shamanism, 206
Shamil, 38
Shevardnadze, Eduard, xciv, 101–2; as Soviet foreign minister, 434
Shlyakhtin, Viktor, 568
Sholokhov, Mikhail, 226
Shostakovich, Dmitriy, 229, 230
Shumeyko, Vladimir, 410, 482
Shuyskiy, Vasiliy: proclaimed tsar, 15
Siberia, 188–91; agriculture, 323; annexed, 19; coal mining, 336; deportation to, 73, 191, 198; development, 123; gas fields, 335; infant mortality, 270; iron, 323; metallurgy, 352; oil fields, 332
Siberian Accord Association, lxxxvi, 414
Siberian Khanate, 14
Siberian Military District, 529, 531, 535
Sigismund III, 17
Sinyavskiy, Andrey, 227
Sisters of Charity, 210
Skokov, Yuriy, 441
Skryabin, Aleksandr, 229
Skuratov, Yuriy, lxi
slaves: in Kievan Rus', 8
Slavic languages, 220
Slavophiles, 31–32; lxxxvii
Slavs, 123, 172; origins and culture, 5
Slavs, East, 5–6, 173; expansion, 5–6, 9; isolation, 7; literature, 222; origins, 5; religion, 173
Slavs, West, 173
Slavs, South, 173
Sleeping Beauty (Tchaikovsky), 229
Slovakia: troop withdrawal from, 501
Slovaks, 173
Slovenes, 173
smoking, ciii, 267, 272; campaign against, 272; cancer from, 268
Smolensk nuclear reactor, 337
The Snow Maiden (Rimskiy-Korsakov), 228
Sochi, 363
Social Insurance Fund, 248, 286, 290–91;

reform of, 290–91
Social Investment Bank (Zhilsotsbank), 341, 343
"socialism in one country," 68–69
socialist realism, 74; in architecture, 234; in art, 233, 234; in ballet, 231; in literature, 224–25, 226; in painting, 233
Socialist Revolutionary Party, 45; members of, exiled, 67; in Petrograd Soviet, 59
Socialist Workers' Party, 255
Social Protection, Ministry of, lxiii, 286, 287; funds, 286
Social Protection of Disabled Persons in the Russian Federation, Law on (1995), 278
social security: decline, 239, 312
social stratification, 240–45; increase, 241, 242; in Soviet Union, 240–41
social structure, 239–58; class status within, 246; mobility within, 245; in Soviet Union, 239–40, 248; transition of, 240, 242, 248, 285
social welfare, lxii–lxiii, 285–94, 420; administration, 286; budget, 286; problems, lxii, 285–86
Society for the Guardianship of Penitentiary Institutions, 590
Socio-Ecological Union, 250
Sofia (r. 1682–89): as regent, 21
Solana, Javier, lxxxix, xciv
Soldiers' Mothers Movement, 255
Solidarity trade union, 94
Solomentsev, Mikhail, 109
Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 227, 425
Somalia: refugees from, 162
Sophia Paleologue, 13
Soskovets, Oleg, lxxvii, 396, 483, 520, 567
South Africa: ties with, 478
South Bug River: pollution of, 142
South Korea. *See* Korea, Republic of
South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast (Georgia), 451
sovereignty movements, lv, lxxvi, 113, 114, 171, 172–73, 194–202, 387, 412, 413–15, 474, 570–71; in Adygea, 196; in Bashkortostan, 196; in Buryatia, 196; campaign to reverse, lxxxvi; in Chechnya, 171, 175, 177, 178, 194, 197; in Chukchi Autonomous Region, 196; in Chuvashia, 196; domino effect of, 201–2; in Gorno-Altay, 196; impetus for, 413, 414; in Ingushetia, 175, 178, 197; in Kabardino-Balkaria, 197; in Karelia, 196; in Komi, 196; in Mari El, 196; in Mordovia, 197; policy toward, 201, 559, 563; in Tatarstan, 196
Sovetskaya Rossiya, 424
Soviet-Finnish War (1939–40), 77
soviets, 55
Soviet Union: Afghanistan invaded by, 57, 94, 454; and China, 56; crime in, 571–72, 578; dissolved, lvi, 388; and Eastern Europe, 56; economy, lxvii; education, 258–59, 265; environment, 136–37; established, 55, 66, 385–86; expansion, 77, 82–83; foreign relations, 79, 84, 104, 444, 461; German invasion of, 56, 78–79; health care, 274, 274–77; hot line to, 90; housing, 280–81; investment in, 377; Jews in, 217; in League of Nations, 76; in Limited Test Ban Treaty, 90; migration from, 161; music, 97–98, 229, 230; nostalgia for, lxvi; republics, 55, 66–67, 108, 385–86; social security, 239; social status in, 240; social structure, 239–40; standards of dress in, 256; support for liberation movements, 76, 84; withdrawal from Afghanistan, 103; women in, 251–52
Sovnarkom. *See* Council of People's Commissars
Spanish Civil War, 76
Spanish language: broadcasts in, 425
Special Forces Police Detachment (OMON), 581
Speranskiy, Mikhail, 29
spies: under Nicholas I, 31; under Yeltsin, 582
Stalin, Joseph V., 43; ballet under, 231; as commander in chief, 525; cult of personality, 74, 87; death, 85; denounced by Khrushchev, 86, 87; economy under, 300–301; foreign policy, 69–70; as general secretary, 67; literature under, 70, 74, 226; manufacturing under, 350; military doctrine of, 495; opinions of, 67; purges by, 56, 70–71, 72–74, 82, 84, 493; rehabilitated, 100–101; rise to power, 55, 68–69; succession to, 86; in troika, 67, 68

Stalingrad, Battle of (1943), 56, 78, 493
Stanovoy Range, 132
Starodubtsev, Vasiliy, lxxxiv
Starov, Ivan, 233
Starovoytov, Aleksandr, 565
START I. *See* Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
State Armament and Military Equipment Sales Company (Voyentekh), 547
State Bank (Gosbank), 340; established, 36; eliminated, 341
State Border of the Russian Federation, Law on the (1993), 570
State Committee for Agrarian Reform, 328
State Committee for Statistics (Goskomstat), 350
State Committee for the Defense Industry (Goskomoboronprom), 516
State Committee for the Management of State property, 316
State Committee for the Protection of Nature (Goskompriroda), 149
State Construction Committee (Goskomstroy), 149, 281
State Corporation for Export and Import of Armaments (Rosvooruzheniye): customers of, 521, 546
State Customs Committee: drug control staff, 577
State Duma: antireform activities, lxix, lxxvi, lxxix; budget votes, lxxiii, lxxviii; chairman, 402; committees, 402–3, 443; distribution of power in, 410, 419; members, 400, 401; military reform hearings, lvii; powers, 403–4, 443; production sharing agreements, lxxv; religion legislation, lxv, cvi, cvii; role in Consultative Council, lxxxiii; START II deliberations, xc, xci
State Emergency Committee, 117
state enterprises: control over, 304; debts, 310, 311, 312; economic targets, 298; employees, 311; under *perestroika*, 304; privatization, 299
State Enterprises, Law on (1988), 106, 304
State Environmental Protection Committee, lxxix
state of emergency, 396, 421
state of the federation speeches, 436–38; of 1994, 436–37; of 1995, 437–38; of 1996, 406, 438; of 1997, lxxxii
State Natural Gas Company (Gazprom), lxx, 310, 336; corruption in, civ, cv–cvi, 336; investment in, lxxiv–lxxv; takeover of, cv–cvi
State Planning Committee (Gosplan), 71, 297
State Space Agency, 510
State Taxation Service (STS), lxx, lxxi, 347
State Traffic Inspectorate, 580
Stavropol' Territory: flooding in, 145; immigration to, 165; pollution in, 140
steel, 351; production, 34, 47, 82, 351
Stepashin, Sergey, 562–63, 564
steppe, 126, 130; environmental degradation in, 138; overgrazing in, 138
stock market, 344–45; irregularities in, 345
Stolypin, Petr: assassinated, 47; as prime minister, 46, 47
Stolypin government, 46–47; reforms under, 46
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), 95, 454; signed, 95
Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I), 105, 455, 484, 500, 513, 514, 519
Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II), lxxxix–xc, xci, 438, 455–56, 457, 459, 512, 514–15; opposition to, 515, xc, xci
Strategic Rocket Forces, 538–39; bases, 538–39; conscripts, 538; mission, 538; nuclear weapons, 538; personnel, 538
Stravinskiy, Igor', 229
strikes, lxxv–lxxvi; coal, lxxv, 350; under Nicholas II, 42, 45, 51, 52; teachers', lxiv; under war communism, 65
Stroganov family, 14
Stroybank. *See* Construction Bank
Stroyev, Yegor, lxxxiii
STS. *See* State Taxation Service
student associations: environmental, 249–50
student demonstrations: in Estonia, 113
students: activism of, 249–50; expelled from school, 263
subsidies: to Cuba, 482; for defense industry, 517; housing, lxii, cv, 280, 282; transportation, 360, 367; under

Yeltsin, lxviii, lxxi, 308
suffrage: under constitution of 1905, 46; under constitution of 1936, 73
suicide, 160, 239, 546
Sukhoy Chkalov Aircraft Plant, 519
Sukhoy Design Bureau, 519
Sukhoy Holding Corporation, 517
Sumarokov, Aleksandr, 223
Summit of the Eight, xc–xci, xcviii
Superior Court of Arbitration: judges, 393, 403; jurisdiction, 408; members, 407–8
Supreme Court: judges, 393, 403; jurisdiction, 407; members, 407
Supreme Soviet: dissolved, 110; and foreign policy, 456; Yeltsin in, 110, 386, 560
Surgut: industry in, 355
Suslov, Mikhail, 98
Suvorov, Aleksandr, 28, 491
Suzdal', 9
Sverdlovsk Oblast, lxxxv; power sharing by, 411; sovereignty movement in, 414
Svyazinvest. *See* Communications Investment Joint-Stock Company
Swan Lake (Tchaikovsky), 229
Sweden: wars against, 14, 21, 490
Switzerland: investment from, 378; trade with, 375
symbolists, 225
Syria: arms sales to, 479–80, 521; military support for, 94; relations with, 94, 478

Tabasaran people, 179
Table of Ranks: introduced, 22
Taglioni, Marie, 231
taiga, 126, 129–30; environmental degradation in, 138; population in, 130
Taiwan. *See* China, Republic of
Tajikistan: armed forces, 508; border, 508, 570; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 118, 388, 449; ethnic conflict in, 569; ethnic groups, 187; ethnic Russians in, 473–74; immigration from, 166; peacekeeping forces in, xci, 448, 449, 451, 458, 459, 507–8, 570; riots in, 114
Tajiks: immigration by, 164
Tambov Oblast: population growth, 157
Tanker Derbent (Krymov), 226
Tannenberg, Battle of (1914), 50
Tatar language, 221
Tatars, 187; geographic distribution, 187; language, 187; migration, 164, 187; origins, 187; as percentage of population, 153, 173, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190
Tatars, Crimean, 180; independence of, 25
Tatarstan, Republic of, 175, 187; industry, 187; natural resources, lv, 187; power sharing by, lxxxvi, 411; sovereignty, 196, 198, 414; trade agreements, ci
tax code, ciii–civ
taxes, 345–47; avoidance of, lxx, lxxxv–lxxxvi, civ, 242, 245, 346, 580; under Bolsheviks, 66; collection, lxiii, lxx–lxxi, ciii, civ, 313, 346, 379, 410; corporate profits, 346; energy, 309, 339, 347, 374; excise, 346, 374; exemptions, 347; export, 346–47, 374; under Gorbachev, 306; import, 346–47, 373; income, 309; under Peter the Great, 22; reform, lxviii, lxx, 309, 346, 380; revenue from, lxx, civ, 313, 319; under the Romanovs, 18, 42; value-added, 309, 346, 374; under Yeltsin, 308–9
Taymyr Autonomous Region, 176
Taymyr Peninsula, 130
Tchaikovsky, Peter Ilich, 229, 231
teachers, 261–62; income of, lxiv, 247, 261, 263; shortage of, 261–62; status of, 247, 261; strikes by, lxiv, lxxv, ciii; women as, 246
technology: Western influences on, 4
telecommunications, 367–72; decentralized, 368; foreign investment in, cv, 369–70; infrastructure, 356, 367, 369, 370; modernized, 368; monitored, 565; privatized, 368; regulations, 370; reorganized, 368; by satellite, 368; under Soviet system, 367–68
telephones: cellular, 370; distribution, 368; expansion of system, 371; investment in, 371; long-distance service, 370–71; modernization, 368, 371; number of, 367, 368; privatized, 369; rates, 370
television, 371–72; channels, 372; number of sets, 372, 425; political campaign advertising on, 426; privatized, 425; programming, 371, 425; in Soviet

system, 423; state-run, 425–26; transmission, 371, 372
territories, 409
terrorism, 575; in Chechnya, c, 201, 575; in Dagestan, 178; incidence of, 575; under Nicholas II, 45, 46; by organized crime, 575; suppression of, 559, 563, 566–67
Texaco, 339
textile industry, 354; under First Five-Year Plan, 301; under Peter the Great, 22
theater, 232; erotic, 256
Third Section, 31
Third World, 477–78; influence in, 88, 94, 494; policies, 475; Soviet client states, 477; ties with, 477
The Three Sisters (Chekhov), 225
Tilsit, Treaty of (1807), 29
Time of Troubles, 14–17
Tito, Josip Broz, 84, 465
Tkachev, Petr, 40
Tobol'sk: industry in, 355
Tokyo Declaration (1993), 472
Tolstaya, Tat'yana, 227
Tolstoy, Dmitriy, 37
Tolstoy, Lev, 225
topography, 126–32; arid zone, 126; lowlands, 129; mountains, 126–29; plains, 129; plateaus, 129; steppe, 126, 130; taiga, 126, 129–30; tundra, 126, 129
Topozero, Lake, 134
trade (*see also* exports; imports), lxxiv, lxvii–lxviii, lxix, 373–76; with China, 470; with Cuba, 483; with Eastern Europe, 83; geographical distribution, 375–76; investment in, 378; by Kievan Rus', 6, 7; with Latin America, 482; nationalized, 300; under New Economic Policy, 66; under *perestroika*, 305, 306; in Russian Empire, 34; shuttle, 319–20; with Taiwan, 470; taxes on, 346–47, 373–74; volume, 375
trade unions, 248–49; strikes by, lxiv, lxxv, ciii, 42, 45, 51, 52, 54, 350
Trade Unions and Industrialists of Russia, 249
Transbaikal Military District, 529, 531, 535
Transcaucasian Republic: autonomy for, 108; in Soviet Union, 55, 63, 66, 385
transportation, 356–67; air, 360–63; airports, 360; bus, 367; energy consumption by, 338; of freight, 359–60; infrastructure, 356, 367; under New Economic Policy, 66; of passengers, 360; pipelines, xciii, c, 177, 335, 336, 364, 453, 502; ports, 363; public, 364; railroads, cv, 34, 36, 41, 42, 44, 48, 359–60; reform, 367; roads, 359; under Soviet system, 356; subsidies, 360, 367; tramway, 367; water, 133, 363–64
Trans-Siberian Railroad, 42, 336
treaties: with Byzantine Empire, 6; defense, 84; power-sharing, 411
Trediakovskiy, Vasiliy, 223
Trezzini, Domenico, 232–33
Trifonov, Yuriy, 97
Trilateral Nuclear Statement (1994), 453, 458
Triple Entente, 48
Trotsky, Leon, 217; as chairman of Petrograd Soviet, 60; as commissar of war, 62, 492; imprisoned, 60; murdered, 73; purged, 68; released from prison, 60
Truman Doctrine, 83
Tsakhur people, 179
tsar: origins of title, 12–13; succession, 28; training, 525
Tsushima, Battle of (1905), 491
Tsvetayeva, Marina, 226
Tukhachevskiy, Mikhail, 492; executed, 77, 493
Tula Oblast: population growth, 157
Tuleyev, Aman, lxxix
tundra, 126; environmental degradation of, 138, 184; population in, 129
Turgenev, Ivan, 32, 225
Turkestan, Guberniya of: formed, 38
Turkey: aid to, 478; arms sales to, 521; environmental protection in, 142; expansion into, 83; influence of, 506; relations with, 436
Turkic languages, 220
Turkmenistan: in Commonwealth of Independent States, 118, 388, 450; ethnic Russians in, 473–74, 508; military intervention in, 508; natural resources, xcii, 335; relations with, 452
Turkmen Republic: autonomy for, 108; in Soviet Union, 66
Turks, 180; nationality unrest by, 114; as

refugees, 162
Turner, Ted, 425
Tuva. *See* Tyva
Tuvinian people, 191; conflicts of, with Russians, 195
Tver' nuclear reactor, 337
Tver' Oblast: population growth, 157; power sharing by, 411
TV-6, 425
Tyumen' Oblast: population growth, 157
Tyutchev, Fedor, 225
Tyva, Republic of, 175, 190–91; economy, 191; ethnic conflict, 195; infant mortality, 270; life expectancy, 160; population, 157, 191; religion, 191; sovereignty movement, 414

Udmurtia, Republic of, 175, 188; defense industry, 515; ethnic distribution, 188; industry, 188; population, 188; sovereignty movement, 414; unemployment, 349
Udmurt people, 172, 188; as percentage of population, 173, 188
Ufa: founded, 184; pollution in, 139
Ukraine: air force, 536; annexed, 18; border of Russia with, 126, 569; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 118, 388, 450; conflicts with, ci, 433, 434; cooperation with Azerbaijan and Georgia, ci; environmental protection in, 142; immigration from, 166; navy, ci, 533; nuclear weapons in, 453, 458, 513, 539; political parties, 42; relations with, ci, 433, 434, 453; relations with NATO, lxxxviii, xcii; sovereignty, 504; trade with, ci, 376; uprisings in, 18–19
Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 212
Ukrainian people, 123, 172; discrimination against, 48; immigration by, 164; origins, 9, 174; as percentage of population, 153, 173, 176, 183, 187, 188, 190; in Russian Empire, 25, 28; Russification of, 37
Ukrainian Republic: autonomy, 108, 114, 388; nationalism in, 114; popular front in, 114; in Soviet Union, 55, 63, 66, 385
Ul'yanov, Aleksandr, 41
Ul'yanov, Vladimir (*see also* Lenin, Vladimir), 41; exiled, 43; name change, 43
underemployment, 348
unemployment, lxv, 348–49, 380; average term of, 349; compensation, 292, 349, 420; distribution, 354; rate, lxxiii, 291–92, 348–49; of women, 252
Unexim bank of Moscow, cv, 317
UNHCR. *See* United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Uniate Church: repression of, 31; in Russian Empire, 28, 31
Unification Church, 210
Unified Electric Power System of Russia, 338; privatized, 317
Union, Treaty of (1922), 385; annulled, 388
Union of Christians of the Evangelical Faith Pentecostal, 213
Union of December 12 faction, 417
Union of Evangelical Baptist Churches, 212
Union of Evangelical Christian Churches, 212–13
Union of Evangelical Christians, 213
Union of Liberation: formed, 45
Union of Muslims of Russia, 216
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. *See* Soviet Union
Union of Soviet Writers, 226
Union of Unions, 45
United Arab Emirates: arms sales to, 479–80, 521, 522–23
United Confederation of Koreans in Russia, 192
United Nations: cooperation with, 437, 498; membership in, 434, 468; peacekeeping missions, 450
United Nations Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 577
United Nations Convention on Refugees, 162
United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982), 153
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 162
United Socialist Revolutionary Party, 43
United States: aid from, 147, 455, 456–57, 458; Alaska sold to, 38; in Caspian Pipeline Consortium, c; grain embargo by, 95; hot line to, 90; invest-

ment from, 378, 459; in Limited Test Ban Treaty, 90; military assistance from, 514; narcotics control training by, 577; nuclear arms deployed by, 100; relations with, 37, 69, 79–81, 89–90, 99–100, 101, 102–3, 104, 438, 442, 454–60, 476; as security threat, 90, 437, 453; trade with, 375–76
universities, 264, 265; autonomy of, 36; restrictions on, 36, 37
Unkiar-Skelessi, Treaty of (1833), 32
Uralic peoples, 172
Ural Military District, 529, 531, 535
Ural Mountains, 123, 130, 131
Ural Regional Association, lxxxvi, 414
Ural republics: coal, 336; ethnic groups, 172; gas fields, 335; immigration to, 166; industry, 354, 355; infant mortality, 270; minerals, 323; oil fields, 332; political unrest, 45; sovereignty movement, 171
Ural River: pollution of, 141
urbanization, 156; end of, 157; and fertility rate, 157
Urengoy: gas fields, 335–36; industry in, 355
Urgent Measures to Implement the Program to Step Up the Fight Against Crime (1994), 583
Ussuri River, 133
Ust'-Orda Buryat Autonomous Region, 176
utilities prices, 299
Uvarov, Sergey, 31
Uzbekistan: autonomy for, 108; in Commonwealth of Independent States, 118, 388; ethnic groups, 187; ethnic Russians in, 473–74; foreign relations, xciv; immigration from, 166; nationality clashes in, 113; refugees from, 162; relations with, 452; in Soviet Union, 66
Uzbeks: nationality unrest by, 114

Vagonka Works, 518
Vancouver Declaration (1993), 457
Varangians, 6
Vartazarova, Lyudmila, 255
Vasiliy III (r. 1505–33), 12
Vasyugane Swamp, 133
VChK. *See* Cheka
Venetsianov, Aleksey, 233
Venezuela: trade with, 482
Verkhoyansk: climate in, 135
Vietnam: arms sales to, 521; guest workers from, 475; military ties with, 474; relations with, 475
Virgin Lands campaign, 90–91, 323
Vladimir, Prince (r. 978–1015), 6; Christianity adopted by, 7, 203; marriage of, 6–7
Vladimir (city), 9; architecture of, 232
Vladimir-Suzdal', 9
Vladivostok: guest workers in, 192; Japanese occupation of, 471; port, 363
Vneshtorgbank. *See* Foreign Trade Bank
vodka: availability, 97; price controls, 309; revenues from, 306
Voice of Russia, 425
Voinovich, Vladimir, 227
Volga Automotive Plant (Avtovaz), 352
Volga Economic Region, 323
Volga Military District, 529, 530–31, 541
Volga republics: ethnic groups, 172; immigration to, 166; infant mortality, 270; life expectancy, 160; sovereignty movement, 171
Volga River, 132, 133; hydroelectric plant on, 338; pollution of, 138, 140, 141, 143–44
Volga-Ural region: gas and oil fields, 332, 335, 355
Volgograd: HIV infection rate in, 274; legislation in, 411–12; pollution in, 139
Volkonskiy, Aleksey, 230
Vorkuta coal field, 336
Voronezh: immigration to, 166
Voyentekh. *See* State Armament and Military Equipment Sales Company
Voznesenskiy, Andrey, 227
Vrubel', Mikhail, 233
Vuktyl gas field, 364
Vyg, Lake, 134
Vysotskiy, Vladimir, 98, 230

wages, 245–47, 349–50; failure to pay, lvi, lviii, lxiii, lxix, lxxii, lxxv, lxxxii, ciii, civ, 245, 249, 312, 314, 337, 349–50, 381, 542, 579; of health care workers, 277; increase in, lxxiii, 350; minimum, 245, 420; payment, 340; of peasants,

96; reduction, lxvi, 348; of soldiers, lvi, 542–43; of state employees, 311; of women, 252; of workers, 106
War and Peace (Tolstoy), 225
war communism, 64–65, 300
War Industries Committee, 51
War of Polish Succession (1733–35), 24
Warsaw Pact, 465; dissolved, lvi, 104, 466, 494; military doctrine, 496
water: contaminants, 140–41, 142; geographic distribution, 132–33; pollution, lxi–lxii, 123, 137, 138, 139, 152, 267; quality, 139–44; reservoirs, 133–34; resources, 123, 132–33; shortages, 140; transportation, 133, 363–64; treatment, 140
waterways, inland, 363
Werewolf Legion, 584
Western countries: cooperation with, 432; as security threat, 437; relations with, xciv, 88
Western Europe: détente with 461; influences by, 20; relations with, 103, 438, 461–63, 483; trade with, lxix, 375
Western influence, xcvii; on art, 232–33; under Catherine the Great, 28; on literature, 222; on music, 230; under Peter the Great, 4, 20, 230, 232–33; on religion, 171; on technology, 4, 21
westernization, 24, 31; attraction of, 210, 211; of culture, 4; of education, 22–23; of elite, 26–27; of legal code, 26; rejection of, xcvii, 211
Westernizers, 31
Western Sayan Mountains, 131
West Siberian Plain, 129, 130, 131, 133; climate in, 135
What is to Be Done? (Chernyshevskiy), 40
What is to Be Done? (Lenin), 43
White Army: defeat of, 63–64; in Civil War, 62, 64; support for, 63; terror by, 64–65
White House: military occupation of, 390–91
Winter War (1939–40), 77, 493
Witte, Sergey: dismissed, 42; economic programs, 41–42; as prime minister, 46; and October Manifesto, 45
Wladyslaw IV, 17
women: alcohol consumption by, 272; in armed forces, 524, 550; discrimination against, 252; education of, 36; employment, 158, 246–47, 347; family situation of, 251, 253; fertility of, 158; life expectancy of, lxiv, 155, 267; maternity leave for, lxii, 251–52, 288–89, 291; mortality rate of, 155; political influence of, 254–55; retirement age, 288; rights, 251; roles, 251–55; sexual harassment of, 252–53, 254, 256; as single mothers, 158; in Soviet Union, 251–52; status, 252; support for, 251–52, 286; unemployed, 252, 349; violence against, 252–53, 254, 256; wages, 252
Women of Russia party, 254–55
women's organizations, 253–54
Women's Union of Russia, 254
workers (*see also* proletariat): absenteeism, 99, 303; benefits, 288–92; drunkenness, 272; number of, 34; as owners of means of production, 60; productivity, 271; protections, 288–92; repression, 48; in Revolution of 1905, 4–5; stores for, 290; wages, 106
workers' councils. *See* soviets
work force, 347–50
working class: living conditions, 244; political parties, 42
World Art group, 233
World Bank: aid from, civ, 144, 342; membership in, 372
World Congress of Tatars, 187
World Trade Organization: membership in, lxxiv, 372
World War I, 49–52, 492; costs, 51, 52; extrication from, 62; public reaction to, 51, 59
World War II, 76–81; birthrate during, 158; casualties in, 81, 124, 153, 493; and religion, 207, 218

Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (China), 450, 510

Yabloko coalition, lxxiii, 149, 416; in 1995 elections, lxxvii, 419
Yablokov, Aleksey, lxi–lxii, 146, 149
Yakovlev, Aleksandr, 102, 107
Yakunin, Gleb, 208
Yakutia. *See* Sakha, Republic of
Yakut people, 172; origins, 190; as per-

centage of population, 190
Yakutsk: climate, 135
Yalta Conference (1945), 80
Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region, 176
Yamal Peninsula: gas fields, 336
Yamburg gas fields, 335–36
Yanayev, Gennadiy, 117
Yandarbiyev, Zelimkhan, 503
Yaroslav, Prince (the Wise) (r. 1019–54), 6–7
Yaroslavl', 12; industry in, 354
Yaroslavl' Oblast: population growth in, 157
Yasin, Yevgeniy, lxxiii, lxxviii
Yastrzhembskiy, Sergey, cvi
Yavlinskiy, Grigoriy, lxxviii, 416
Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc (Yabloko), 416, 419
Yazov, Dmitriy, 117
YeEs Rossii. *See* Unified Electric Power system of Russia
Yegorov, Nikolay, 394
Yekaterinburg: pollution in, 139; population, 154; subway system, 364
Yeltsin, Boris N., 102; as acting prime minister, 388; competence of, 427; conflicts with parliament, lxviii, lxxvi, 385, 405–6, 442–43, 443, 560–61, 562; criticism of, 423; economic reform plan, lxviii, 106, 300, 308–9; economic transition under, 299; elected president, lxxvi, 117; foreign investment under, 377; foreign relations under, 117, 471–72; and Gorbachev, 116, 387; heart problems, lxxxi, lxxxii, lxxxiv, xci; internal security under, 555, 560; in Interregional Group, 110; move to impeach, lxxxiv, 390, 392; popularity, lxxxii; possible successors, lxxxii, lxxxiv; purged, 109; reforms under, liv, 388; special executive powers, lxxvii, lxxxiii, 388, 389, 426, 441; state of the federation speeches, lxxxii, 406, 436–38; summit meetings with Bush, lxxxvii, lxxxix, 457; summit meetings with Clinton, lxxxvii, 457–60; in Supreme Soviet, 110, 116, 386
Yemen, Democratic Republic of, 478
Yenisey River, 133; hydroelectric plant on, 338
Yenisey Valley, 130
Yerin, Viktor, 578
Yermak, 14
Yerofeyev, Viktor, 227
Yesenin, Sergey, 226
Yevtushenko, Yevgeniy, 227
Yezhov, Nikolay, 73
Yezhovshchina, 73
Yiddish language, 221
youth culture, 244–45; *tusovki* in, 244–45
Yugoslavia: conflicts with, 434, 438; Soviet influence in, 83, 84, 465
Yugoslavia, former: policy toward, 443–44, 467–68; Russia's role in, 467–69
Yumashev, Valentin, cvi

Zadonshchina, 222
Zaire: refugees from, 162
Zamyatin, Yevgeniy, 226, 227
Zavtra, 424
Zhdanov, Andrey, 82; murdered, 85
Zhdanovshchina, 82, 229
Zhilsotsbank. *See* Social Investment Bank
Zhirinovskiy, Vladimir, 415
Zhivkov, Todor: deposed, 104
Zhukov, Georgiy, 78, 493; purged, 87
Zhurnalist, 424
Zinov'yev, Grigoriy, 217; deported to Siberia, 73; executed, 73; in troika, 67, 68
Zoshchenko, Mikhail, 226
Zyuganov, Gennadiy, 398, 416; presidential campaign (1996), lxv, lxxvii, 426

Contributors

William Baxter is an analyst of Central Eurasian military affairs for BDM Federal, Inc.

William Cooper is a specialist in international trade and finance for the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

Glenn E. Curtis is senior research analyst for Central Eurasia and Central Europe in the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.

David M. Goldfrank is professor of history at Georgetown University.

Amy W. Knight has published several monographs on the internal security organizations of the Soviet Union and Russia.

Zenon E. Kohut is director of the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta.

Marian Leighton is an independent researcher on Soviet and Russian affairs.

David McClave is an independent researcher on Soviet and Russian affairs.

James P. Nichol is a specialist in Central Eurasia for the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

Thomas Skallerup is a former research analyst in Soviet affairs in the Federal Research Division, Library of Congress.

Published Country Studies

(Area Handbook Series)

550–65	Afghanistan
550–98	Albania
550–44	Algeria
550–59	Angola
550–73	Argentina
550–111	Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia
550–169	Australia
550–176	Austria
550–175	Bangladesh
550–112	Belarus and Moldova
550–170	Belgium
550–66	Bolivia
550–20	Brazil
550–168	Bulgaria
550–61	Burma
550–50	Cambodia
550–166	Cameroon
550–159	Chad
550–77	Chile
550–60	China
550–26	Colombia
550–33	Commonwealth Caribbean, Islands of the
550–91	Congo
550–90	Costa Rica
550–69	Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)
550–152	Cuba
550–22	Cyprus
550–158	Czechoslovakia
550–36	Dominican Republic and Haiti
550–52	Ecuador
550–43	Egypt
550–150	El Salvador
550-113	Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania
550–28	Ethiopia
550–167	Finland
550–173	Germany
550–153	Ghana
550–87	Greece
550–78	Guatemala
550–174	Guinea
550–82	Guyana and Belize
550–151	Honduras
550–165	Hungary
550–21	India
550–154	Indian Ocean
550–39	Indonesia
550–68	Iran
550–31	Iraq
550–25	Israel
550–182	Italy
550–30	Japan
550–34	Jordan
550–114	Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan
550–56	Kenya
550–81	Korea, North

550–41	Korea, South	550–37	Rwanda and Burundi
550–58	Laos	550–51	Saudi Arabia
550–24	Lebanon	550–70	Senegal
550–38	Liberia	550–180	Sierra Leone
550–85	Libya	550–184	Singapore
550–172	Malawi	550–86	Somalia
550–45	Malaysia	550–93	South Africa
550–161	Mauritania	550–95	Soviet Union
550–79	Mexico	550–179	Spain
550–76	Mongolia	550–96	Sri Lanka
550–49	Morocco	550–27	Sudan
550–64	Mozambique	550–47	Syria
550–35	Nepal and Bhutan	550–62	Tanzania
550–88	Nicaragua	550–53	Thailand
550–157	Nigeria	550–89	Tunisia
550–94	Oceania	550–80	Turkey
550–48	Pakistan	550–74	Uganda
550–46	Panama	550–97	Uruguay
550–156	Paraguay	550–71	Venezuela
550–185	Persian Gulf States	550–32	Vietnam
550–42	Peru	550–183	Yemens, The
550–72	Philippines	550–99	Yugoslavia
550–162	Poland	550–67	Zaire
550–181	Portugal	550–75	Zambia
550–160	Romania	550–171	Zimbabwe
550–115	Russia		